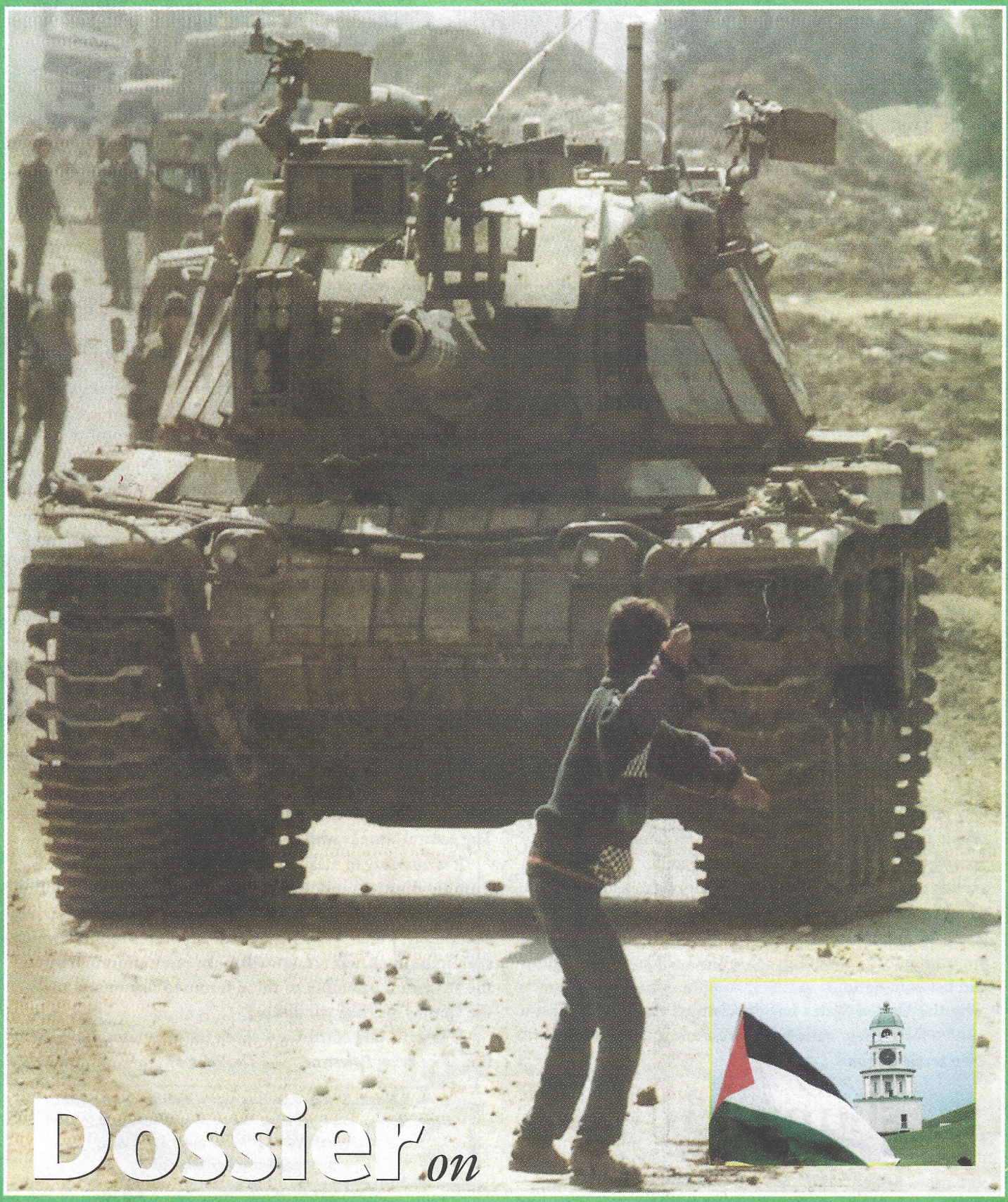

Dossier *on*

PALESTINE

Standing for justice

The struggle of the world's peoples for self-determination has assumed greater dimensions and intensity. Standing in the forefront are the valiant Palestinians. For decades, in extremely difficult conditions, they have been waging a titanic battle to return to their homeland and realize their inalienable rights to freedom and independence. Some five million refugees have been waiting for more than fifty years to return to Palestine.

ALAN SUROVELL

▲ *Demonstration on Palestinian Land Day, 30 March 2002, Halifax, NS*

Moreover, the Middle East continues to be an arena of repeated acts of intervention and war. From 1947 to date, a number of wars, each bloodier than the former, have been waged there with, for example, more than one million people slaughtered in the Iran-Iraq war. The Middle East is a region where local and world events have reached a major turning point. Indeed, as we go to press, the Bush administration is preparing a new war against Iraq. A new generation among the various peoples of the Middle East is also about to take power and launch another chapter amid the developing, shifting and new strategic alliances. But nothing will progress without a lasting peace. A just settlement of the Palestinian question is vital. The politics of assassination, provocation, terror and destruction, and unjust war have gone on far too long.

This *Dossier on Palestine* strives to clarify:

- why and how the Palestinians have been dispossessed *as a people* from their mother soil, and why Israel continues to occupy their land and attack their sovereign government in explicit opposition to every norm of morality, justice and law;
- why Israel lives outside of and places itself above the rule of law, and the principles on which it is based, including opposition to the use of force to settle conflicts within nations and between nations;
- why the United States has proclaimed the Middle East a sphere for its own national interest and an extension of its own territory; *and*
- why so many conflicts have taken place in this oil-rich region in such a relatively short period.

To facilitate the process of understanding and tackle the disinformation and ignorance of the mass media, this *Dossier* provides authoritative articles, in-depth timeline, press reports, analyses of key issues, compelling photojournalism from Palestine, and 23 detailed maps. (Keep in mind that Israel is one third the size of Nova Scotia, Canada's smallest mainland province.) A comprehensive resource list should guide readers interested in further research.

As an independent publication, we have always adopted a broad interpretation of the shunpiking metaphor: encompassing not only the exploration of the natural environment but also the investigation of culture, history, politics and economics in the provincial, national and international spheres.

Our perspective is neither Palestinian nor Israeli, Arab nor Jew but a modern Canadian perspective. In a Canada that is multi-national, a Canada whose government and media continually extol its international role and its participation in 19th century empire-building, it behooves us to seek to comprehend what is unfolding on the world scale.

Our conclusion: this illegal occupation must be ended. Zionist Israel has gone beyond South African apartheid. We are witnessing genocide – the attempted destruction of a *people*. The central issue is who will hold Israel to account?

It is our duty to make a stand for conscience and principle, human dignity and justice. At the Halifax Land Day demonstration on March 30th, we promised: "Our magazine, *shunpiking*, which is independent of any vested interest, which speaks the truth, will act. We will make every effort to frustrate the shameless attempts of these forces to blame and malign the victims for their condition."

It is with this spirit that, seven months later, we present this *Dossier on Palestine*. — *The Editors*

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Dossier on Palestine

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Front Cover: (AP) A Palestinian boy, Fares Udah (13), confronts an Israeli tank during an attack on the outskirts of Gazi City on 29 October 2000. According to his mother, Enaam Udah (41), Fares survived the encounter with the tank only to be shot dead by Israeli soldiers a week later on November 8. Inset: (Jon Elmer) Palestinian flag, demonstration against meeting of G-7 Ministers, Halifax, Nova Scotia on 15 June 2002

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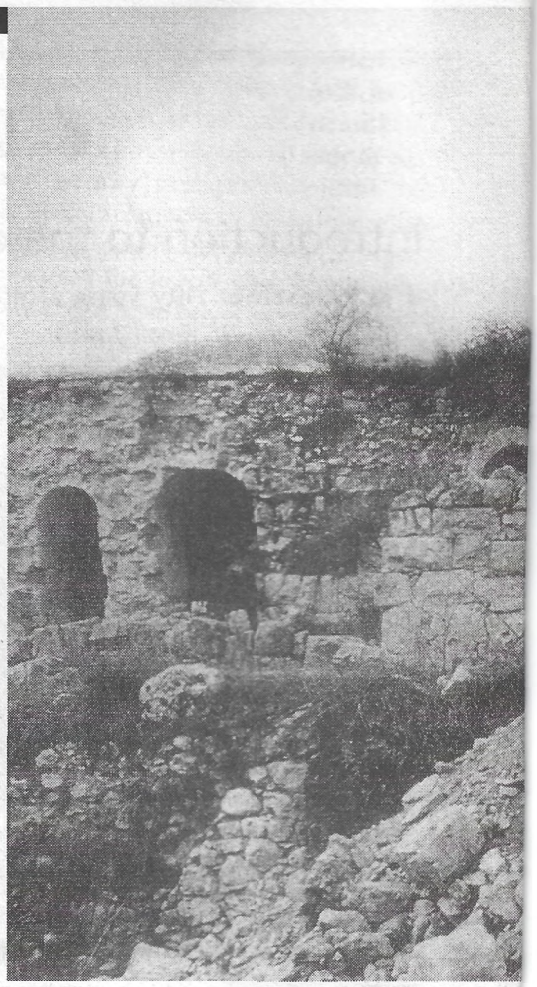
PALESTINE: Fifty years of **ethnic cleansing** and dispossession



■ The Palestine-Israel conflict is frequently described as a very complex one. I want to submit to you that the problem is fundamentally a very simple one which was summed up, in the words of a simple Palestinian farmer in Jericho – quoted by the late Frank Epp, then President of Conrad Grebel College of the University of Waterloo – who told him: **'Our problem is very simple. A foreigner came and took our land, took our farms and our homes, and kicked us out. We have in mind to return. It may take a hundred years but we will return.'**

BY DR. ISMAIL ZAYID

This essay provides an overview of the conflict. It was originally given as a lecture at the Conference on Palestine, Vancouver, 23 May 1999

This, in a nutshell, is the Palestine problem and the essence of this conflict. A country, Palestine, has been dismantled, its people uprooted from their homeland and replaced by an alien people gathered from all corners of the globe and a new state, Israel, created, in its place. This tragedy, and the ensuing conflict that brought about repeated wars in the Middle East is a direct outcome of the introduction of political Zionism into the Middle East.

Inevitably, some history is relevant here.

It was the second of November 1917 when Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, issued his infamous declaration in the form of a letter written to Lord Rothschild, it read:

> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people..., it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

It is interesting to note that the four-letter word "Arab" occurs not once in this document. To refer to the Arabs who constituted, at the time, 92% of the population of Palestine and owned 98% of its land, as the non-Jewish communities is not merely preposterous but deliberately fraudulent. I do not need to tell you that this letter has no shred of legality, as Palestine did not belong to Balfour to assume such acts of generosity. Dr. Arnold Toynbee described the British role, in issuing this document, accurately:

> We were taking it upon ourselves to give away something that was not ours to give. We were promising rights of some kind in the Palestinian Arabs' country to a third party.

Similarly, the well-known Jewish writer, Arthur Koestler, summed it up aptly when he described the Balfour Declaration as a document in which "one nation promised a second the country of a third".

On the 29 November 1947, the UN General Assembly passed its Resolution No. 181, recommending the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state, in 56% of the land; an Arab state in 42% of the land; and an International Zone in Jerusalem. At the time, the Jews, a large proportion of them recent or illegal immigrants, constituted one-third of the population of Palestine and owned 5.6% of its land. In the area that was apportioned to the Jewish state, half of the population was Arab (Muslims and Christians) and half was Jewish.

It is interesting to note that times have not changed since 1947 when the United States got the General Assembly to delay a vote "to gain time to bring, by coercion, certain Latin American, Asian and African countries into line with its own views". Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles stated:

> **By direct order of the White House, every form of pressure, direct and indirect, was used to make sure that the necessary majority would be gained.**

■ *Dr. Ismail Zayid was born and grew up in Beit Nuba, Palestine, went to school in Jerusalem, received his medical education at the University of London, and emigrated to Canada in 1972. He recently retired from his position as Professor of Pathology and Head of Anatomical Pathology in the Faculty of Medicine at Dalhousie University in Halifax. He is the author of two books, Palestine: A Stolen Heritage and Zionism: The Myth and the Reality, and is founding president, Canada Palestine Association. His website is http://izayid.tripod. com*

ALL THAT REMAINS: THE PALESTINIAN VILLAGES OCCUPIED AND DEPOPULARED BY ISRAEL IN 1948, WALID KHALIDI ED., INSTITUTE FOR PALESTINE STUDIES, 1992

◀ "In the completion of its policy of "ethnic cleansing" in 1948, Israel proceeded, in an attempt to destroy the Palestinian national existence, by a policy of destruction of property and expropriation of Arab land. A systemic process brought about the total destruction of 378 Palestinian towns and villages."

Subsequently, fighting erupted between Arabs and Jews and by the end of the fighting in early 1949, Israel had occupied 78 per cent of Palestine and approximately 750,000 Palestinians were driven out or fled in terror from their homes.

The genesis of this exodus emanates from the inherent concept of the Zionist ideology of creating a pure Jewish state in Palestine, free of Arabs. The current powerful political agenda that exists in Israel today, as the policy of "transfer of Palestinians" from Israel and the occupied territories, is not a new one. Theodor Herzl wrote in his diaries in 1897, on the occasion of the First World Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, where he presented his plans to create a Jewish state in Palestine, that:

> We shall try to spirit the penniless (Arab) population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country... Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discretely and circumspectly (from R. Patai, ed., The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, Vol I.).

Ben-Gurion, in a speech to the 20th Zionist Congress plenum in Zurich on 7 August 1937, stated:

> Transfer of (Arab) inhabitants happened in the past, in the (Jerzeel) Valley, in the Sharon (i.e. the Coastal Plain) and in other places. We know of the Jewish National Fund's actions in this regard. Now **the transfer will have to be carried out on a different scale altogether.** In many parts of the country new Jewish settlement will not be possible unless there is transfer of the Arab peasantry... The transfer of the population is what makes possible a comprehensive (Jewish) settlement plan. Thankfully, the Arab people have large, empty areas (outside Palestine). Jewish power in the country, which is continuously growing, will also increase our possibilities to carry out the transfer on a large scale. You must remember, that this method contains an important humane and Zionist idea, to shift parts of a people (i.e., the Palestine Arabs) to their own country and to settle empty lands [in Syria, Transjordan and Iraq]. (Benny Morris, "Looking Back: A personal assessment of the Zionist Experience", *Tikkun.* 13:40-49, 1998)

Here we go again! Expelling people from their homeland, we are now told, is a "humane Zionist idea". Professor Israel Shahak said it all:

> **You cannot have humane Zionism; it is a contradiction in terms.**

In a letter in 1937 to his son, Amos, Ben-Gurion confided that when the Jewish state comes into being, "We will expel the Arabs and take their places". And while visiting the newly-conquered Nazareth in July, 1948, Ben-Gurion exclaimed: **"Why are there so many Arabs left here? Why didn't you expel them?"**

Joseph Weitz, who was the Jewish Agency chief representative, reported in the September 29, 1967 issue of *Davar,* organ of the Histadrut, that he and other Zionist leaders concluded, in 1940, that there was "no room for both peoples together in this country". The achievement of Zionist objectives, he realized, required "a Palestine,

'one nation promised a second the country of a third'

or at least Western Palestine (west of the Jordan River) without Arabs". He wrote that it was necessary "to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries. To transfer all of them and only after such transfer would the country be able to absorb millions of our brethren". This, in essence, is the foundation for the policy of "ethnic cleansing" that the Zionist forces adopted in 1948 to remove, by massacre, or the threat of massacre, and by psychological warfare, virtually the entire Arab population in the area of the Palestinian territory that they conquered by military means, 78% of Palestine.

The massacre on 9 April 1948 of the village of Deir Yassin near Jerusalem, where 250 men, women and children were butchered and massacred in cold blood by the Irgun Zwei Leumi terrorist gang, with the approval of the Jerusalem commander of the official Zionist forces; the Haganah, David Shaltiel, as recently documented by Yitzhak Levi, a veteran Israeli intelligence officer, was instrumental in this expulsion. Ironically, the village of Deir Yassin had made a peace agreement with their Jewish neighbours of Givat Shaul. This massacre ▶

was not unique and numerous similar massacres were carried out by Zionist forces and Israeli forces during that war. A recent article in the Tel Aviv newspaper, *Hair,* of 6 May 1992, by Guy Erlich, documents evidence collected by the American Jewish journalist Dan Kortzman, author of Genesis 1948, and the history researcher Ariyeh Yitzhaki, of at least twenty large massacres of Arabs and about a hundred more massacres committed by Israeli forces. Yitzhaki states:

> For many Israelis it was easy to cling to the false claim that the Arabs left the country because that was what their leaders ordered. That is a total lie. The fundamental cause for the flight of the Arabs was their fear of Israelis' violence, and that fear had a basis in reality.

History researcher Uri Milstein, celebrated in Israel as the dispeller of myths, confirms Yitzhaki's evaluation regarding the volume of the massacres and even goes further:

> If Yitzhaki claims that there were murders in almost every village, then I say that up to the inception of Israel **every event of fighting ended in a massacre of Arabs. There were massacres of Arabs in all of Israel's wars, but I have no doubt that the War of Independence was the dirtiest.**

In the village of Duweima, an Arab village near Hebron, occupied without a battle by Battalion 89 of the 8th Brigade, some 80–100 civilians were murdered in cold blood by the occupiers. Later more civilians were murdered. In the village of Safsaf:

> Fifty-two men were tied with a rope. Lowered into a pit and shot. Ten were killed. Women begged for mercy. Three cases of rape. A 14- year-old raped and four others killed.

The policy of massacre was complemented by a campaign of psychological warfare, initiating terror to force the Palestinians to flee. Leo Heiman, Israeli Army Reserve officer who fought in 1948, wrote in *Marine Corp Gazette* in June 1964:

> As uncontrolled panic spread through all Arab quarters, the Israelis brought up jeeps with loudspeakers which broadcast recorded 'horror sounds'. These included shrieks, wails and anguished moans of Arab women, the wail of sirens and the clang of fire alarm bells, interrupted by a sepulchral voice calling out in Arabic: 'Save your souls all ye faithful: the Jews are using poison gas and atomic weapons. Run for your lives in the name of Allah'.

More subtle methods of psychological warfare were used by Yigal Allon, the Commander of the Palmach, an elite Haganah force, who later became Israeli Foreign Minister. He wrote in *Ha Sepher Ha Palmach* in 1948:

> I gathered all of the Jewish *mukhtars* (headmen), who have contact with Arabs in different villages, and asked them to whisper in the ears of some Arabs that a great Jewish reinforcement has arrived in Galilee and that it is going to burn all of the villages of Huleh. They should suggest to these Arabs, as their friends, to escape while there is still time. The rumour spread in all the areas of the Huleh. The tactic reached its goal completely.

When the Arabs failed to flee, as required, a combination of terror and physical expulsion was used, as in the case of the cities of Lydda and Ramleh, which were occupied in July 10, 1948. Yitzhak Rabin, recorded in his memoirs, published in the *New York Times* (23 October 1979):

> While the fighting was still in progress we had to grapple with the problem dealing with the fate of the civilian population, numbering some 50,000. We walked outside, Ben Gurion accompanying us. Allon repeated his question: 'What is to be done with the population?' B.G. waved his hand in a gesture which said, 'Drive them out!'

One of the Israeli war crimes is relevant here. After the surrender of Lydda, a group of Palestinian men took refuge in the small Dahmash mosque. The commander of the Palmach's Third Battalion, Moshe Kalman, gave an order to fire several missiles at the mosque. The force that attacked the mosque was surprised at the lack of resistance. It found the remains of the Arab fighters stuck to the mosque walls. A group of 20 to 50 of the city's residents was then brought to clean the mosque and to bury the remains. When they finished their work, they were also shot, and thrown into the graves they themselves had dug. The American Jewish journalist Dan Kortzman learned of the event from Moshe Kalman while working on his book, Genesis 1948, describing the War of Independence.

Rabin and his officers proceeded to drive these 50-60,000 civilians away from their homes in terror, with low-flying airplanes over their heads shooting the occasional person and forcing them to run. The sight of the terror-stricken men, women and children fleeing in horror in the midday sun of the hot summer, having run approximately 25 km to the village of Beit Nuba, where I saw them with my own eyes, is a sight not to be forgotten. In reference to this scene and countering the Zionist propaganda, that the Palestinians left their homes voluntarily and in response to broadcasts by their leaders.

It is perhaps relevant to note that this piece of Zionist propaganda was first demolished by Dr. Erskine Childers who examined the American and British monitoring records of all Middle East broadcasts throughout 1948. He reported in the *Spectator* 1961:

> There was not a single order or appeal or suggestion about evacuation from Palestine from any Arab radio station, inside or outside Palestine, in 1948. There is repeated monitored record of Arab appeals even flat orders, to civilians of Palestine to stay put.

The historical record clearly demonstrates that the Palestine refugee problem was created in response to a clear Zionist policy of cleansing the land of Palestine from its own people. Chaim Weizmann, the first President of Israel, described this process with a great deal of satisfaction as the **"miraculous clearing of the land."** However, the UN mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, stated in a report to the UN:

> **It would be an offence against the principles of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine,** and, indeed, at least offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries.

Count Bernadotte paid heavily for stating this obvious principle and was assassinated by the Stern terrorist gang, on direct orders of Yitzhak Shamir, on September 17, 1948 in Jerusalem. The United Nations General Assembly proceeded, however, to resolve on December 11, 1948, in its Resolution No. 194:

> Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date and those wishing not to return should be compensated for their property.

The implementation of this Resolution, together with Resolution No. 181 of 29 November 1947, were reaffirmed and were made conditions for the admittance of Israel to the UN membership in Resolution of No. 273 of the 11 May 1949.

Despite this and despite repeated UN General Assembly and Security Council Resolutions demanding the implementation of Resolution No. 194 for the return of the refugees, Israel continues to defy this international will and in essence, it can be argued that its membership in the United Nations is illegitimate, in view of its refusal to comply with the conditions that were imposed upon it. Not only that, Israel proceeded in 1967, after the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to expel over 300,000 more Palestinian refugees from their homes or refugee camps. Many of them were in essence expelled a second time. Security Council Resolution No. 237 of the 14 June 1967, called upon the government of Israel to facilitate the return of these refugees, and similar UN General Assembly resolutions to that effect remain unimplemented.

It is clear, for anybody, who has witnessed the history of that area, to see that the

'What is to be done with the population?' Ben Gurion waved his hand in a gesture which said, 'Drive them out!'

▲ *Life in Ramleh, just before 60,000 inhabitants of the cities of Ramleh and Lydda are expelled*

▲ *Palestinians leave 'voluntarily' in 1948. (Right) Massive demonstration in Ramleh in 1962*

Palestinians remain determined to return to their homeland and their struggle continues despite repeated massacres and an orchestrated policy of genocide denying them their national existence. Their sacrifices have been documented and continue, despite the Israeli policy of state terrorism and continuing bombardment of their refugee camps in Lebanon and the oppressive practices that are employed against them under occupation in the West Bank and Gaza. the late Dr. Frank Epp, described the tragedy of the Palestinian people in these terms:

> Rarely has a people suffered so much injustice so passively for so long, waiting for the powers that be to redress the inflicted wrong.

Similarly, it was the distinguished philosopher, Lord Bertrand Russell who stated, addressing an international conference in 1970, the following:

> **The tragedy of the people of Palestine is that their country was 'given' by a foreign power to another people for the creation of a new state.** The result was that many hundreds of thousands of innocent people were made permanently homeless. With every new conflict their numbers increased. How much longer is the world willing to endure this spectacle of wanton cruelty? It is abundantly clear that the refugees have every right to the homeland from which they were driven, and **the denial of this right is at the heart of the continuing conflict.** No people anywhere in the world would accept being expelled en masse from their country; how can anyone require the people of Palestine to accept a punishment which nobody else would tolerate? **A permanent just settlement of the refugees in their homeland is an essential ingredient of any genuine settlement in the Middle East.**

The Land Question

In the completion of its policy of "ethnic cleansing" in 1948, Israel proceeded, in an attempt to destroy the Palestinian national existence, by a policy of destruction of property and expropriation of Arab land. A systemic process brought about the total destruction of 378 Palestinian towns and villages.

In 1948, the total Jewish holdings, leased and owned, were less than 6% of the total land area of Palestine. To enlarge this, one of the most shocking acts of plunder in modern history took place. A series of so-called laws were quickly promulgated to expropriate the millions of acres and thousands of farms and stores and hundreds of whole towns and villages that belonged to the expelled Arab refugees. These laws included the *Emergency Defence Regulations, the Abandoned Areas Ordinance (1949)*, the *Emergency Articles of Exploitation of Uncultivated Lands (1947-1949)*, the *Absentee Property Law (1950)* and the *Land Acquisition Law (1953)*. This act of plunder was not confined to the property of the refugees who had been thrown out of the country but was extended to the Arabs who remained on their land. Under one regulation, any area could be closed by the authorities for security reasons and its Arab owners barred from it. It would then be declared "abandoned" or "uncultivated". Under another law it would be handed over to others, usually Jews, to cultivate. Many Arab citizens who had never moved from the part of Palestine that became Israel happened to be away from their lands and homes for a certain period during the process of Israeli occupation, annexation, and population transfer. They were barred from their villages upon their return, thereby becoming absentees, and their property was seized. These Arabs earned the Orwellian title of **"absent present"!** Where else, but in the Zionist dictionary would you find such an entity?!

Moshe Keren, a Jewish writer, described the laws as: "Wholesale robbery with a legal coating."

In this way the Israeli authorities confiscated the entire movable and immovable property of the 750,000 evicted refugees, and more than one million dunums of land, belonging to Arabs who had remained in Israel after 1948, was seized.

The expropriated Arab land was passed to the Keren Kaymeth, the Jewish National Fund (JNF), the laws of which prevent leasing the land to Arabs or use of Arab labour. These are clearly racist laws. Uri Avnery told the Knesset

> If we are going to expel Arab cultivators from the land that was formerly theirs, and was handed over to the Jews, we would be acting in accordance with the verse which says: 'Hast thou killed and also inherited'.

These were only a few of the methods and laws that were used or legislated to expropriate the land of the Arabs, who remained in Israel, and to discriminate against them.

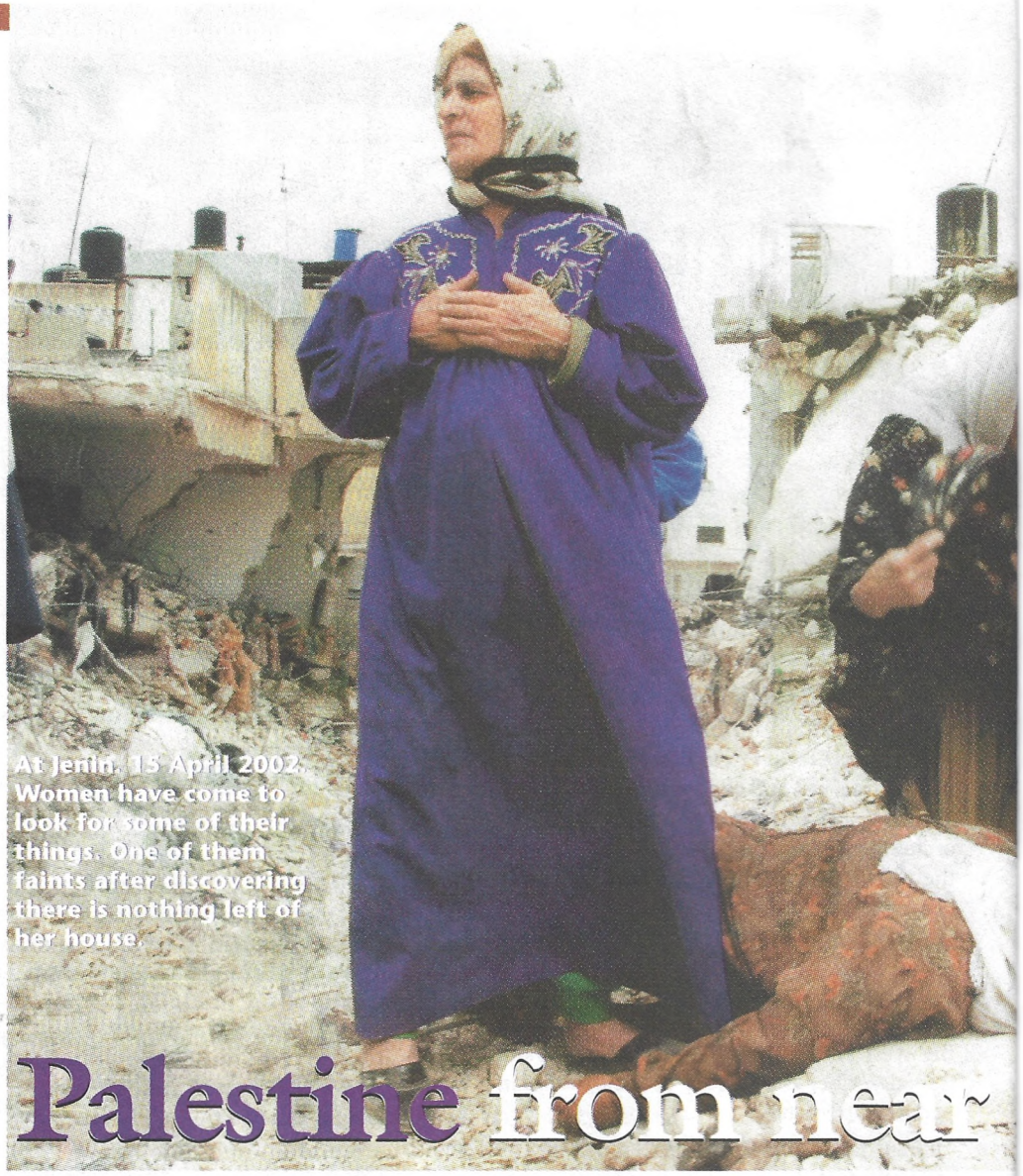
The 1967 Occupation

Israel's policy of ethnic cleansing and expropriation continued in the territories occupied in its war of aggression in 1967, including the West Bank and Gaza. In part, this was achieved by the total destruction of a number of villages and towns in the West Bank, including my own village, Beit Nuba. Together with the neighbouring villages of Imwas (the biblical village of Emmaus) and Yalu, Beit Nuba was systematically dynamited, bulldozed and erased from the surface of the earth, on June 9-10, 1967, a war crime committed on the direct orders of Yitzhak Rabin, the Chief of Staff of the Israeli army at the time, and later the Prime Minister of Israel, and ironically a Nobel Peace Laureate. To the shame of every Canadian, the infamy called Canada Park, paid by Canadian tax-deductible dollars, stands today on the ruins of Imwas, Yalu and Beit Nuba.

Moshe Dayan, the Minister of Defence in June 1967, is quoted by General Arieh Bar-On, Dayan's Military-Secretary, of declaring in a meeting of the General Command, in September, 1967, that: "at the beginning of the war and during the war we carried out operations to destroy villages, for Zionist purposes in which I fully share". General Bar-On states in his recently published book, in Hebrew, Personal Signature – Moshe Dayan in the Six-Day War and After:

> Encouraging the emigration of the Arabs of Judea and Samaria (*sic – The West Bank*) was indeed the policy of the entire system, which was under his (Dayan's) dominion. ▶

Continued on page 36



At Jenin, 15 April 2002. Women have come to look for some of their things. One of them faints after discovering there is nothing left of her house.

Palestine from near

TARGET AREA

The true death toll from the massacre in the Jenin camp may never be known, even if Israel was to have admitted the UN investigation team. The events of spring 2002 are already legends with terrible power on both sides.

BY AMNON KAPELIOUK
LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, PARIS, MAY 2002

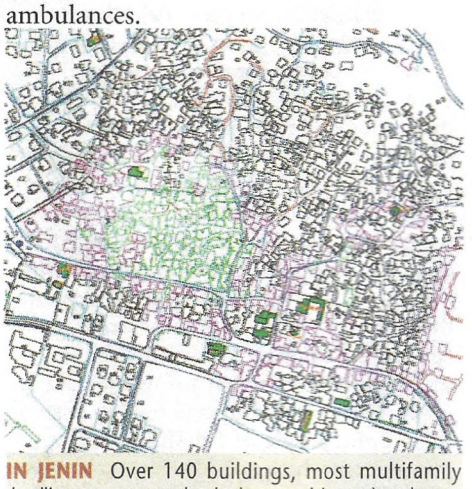
Jenin looks as if a hurricane has hit it; houses totally or partly destroyed, rubble of concrete and reinforcing rods, tangles of electric wires. Cars crushed by tanks or shattered by missiles. The stench of death hangs in the air. No infrastructure remains. A rectangle in the middle of the camp is all that remains of the Hawashin district, which once had 150 houses (see map, below). Giant bulldozers have completely levelled it.

Women, the elderly, children wander through the ruins looking for buried relatives. A man digs the ground with a spade while his son pulls at debris with his hands. They are hoping to find some of their family who were buried alive. Three men pull the mutilated corpse of their father from the remains of their home in one of the poorest places in the West Bank. In the corner of a half-ruined building a woman is crying: "God, avenge us and kill Sharon." She says members of her family lie buried under the rubble. Children stare, stunned, no smiles on their faces.

"Sharon has turned all these children into potential suicide bombers. He'll force us to respond with everything we've got, to drive his army and settlers out of our land," said a young woman whose family was saved by fleeing to the nearby village of Rumaneh the first day of the attack.

"The destruction was carried out to a detailed plan. Sharon wanted to terrorise us," explains Muhammad Abu al-Hija, a dentist whose family, like many others, was expelled from the Haifa region in 1948. Up to 90% of the houses are uninhabitable. On the east and in the centre the devastation is total. The Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNWRA), Peter Hansen, said the camp was a disaster area.

Jenin was invaded on 3 April, the fifth day of the onslaught against Palestinian towns in the West Bank. Sustained fire, tank shells and helicopter missiles signalled the start of the attack. A curfew was ordered and the inhabitants took refuge in their homes. Since the tanks were too wide for the narrow streets, giant bulldozers knocked down the houses. Four days later a second destruction began, targeting the centre with its houses two to four storeys high, where Palestinian fighters armed with kalashnikovs and explosives faced one of the most modern armies in the world. The battle was hard and unequal. The Palestinians suffered very heavy losses; the wounded, most of them civilians, died because the army refused access to Palestinian Red Crescent ambulances.



IN JENIN Over 140 buildings, most multifamily dwellings, were completely destroyed (green) and more than 200 others (red) were seriously damaged. The Hawashin district, where more than 100 buildings were razed, is at the centre of the map. – HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

ISRAELI BLITZKRIEG

Against a background of expansion, Israeli forces attack the West Bank in one of its largest military operations ever

NORTHERN BORDER Israeli warplanes and helicopter gunships attack southern Lebanon with heavy bombing. Hizbollah guerillas fire missile barrage.

TUBAS Israeli forces assassinate man they believe to be "mastermind" of Passover suicide bombing, along with five innocent people.

NABLUS Hundreds of Palestinians fight back sharply against Israeli tanks, helicopter gunships, bulldozers. Electricity, water and phone lines of the Palestinian population in Nablus and seven other cities are cut.

RAMALLAH Tanks and troops attack Palestinian Authority offices, and trap President Yasser Arafat in his office. Over 7000 males, from teenagers to middle-aged men, are arrested, stripped, blindfolded and "detained".

BETHLEHEM Siege of the Church of the Navitity, which offers refuge to Palestinians from advancing army. 200 people, including 60 priests, are trapped inside.

A. BOULAT/PARIS MATCH

and far

On 9 April the Palestinians ambushed Israeli soldiers and killed 13. The army then gave orders to avoid further losses at any price, so the soldiers fired on sight at anything that moved. They had been told the camp was full of Hamas and Jihad 'terrorists', which justified 'collective punishment'; so more houses were dynamited. In the camp, as in all the Palestinian towns, anything belonging to the Palestinian Authority was destroyed. The aim was to obliterate its symbols and resources.

Every home was searched. After first locking the family in one room, the soldiers overturned furniture, opened cupboards, threw everything on the floor in disorder. Many households had money, jewellery and cigarettes stolen. To open doors soldiers used a human shield: an inhabitant of the camp ▸

Continued on page 10

Under Palestinian civil and security control

Under Palestinian civil control, joint Israeli-Palestinian security control

Suicide bomb attacks March 27–April 6

Israeli "incursions"

Illegal Israeli settlements

Recent settlement expansions

Rocket attacks

LEBANON
Qiryat Shemona
Bekaa Valley
GOLAN HEIGHTS
Nahariyya
Haifa
Sea of Galilee
Tiberias
Nazareth
Mediterranean Sea
Netanya
Tulkarem
Jenin
TUBAS
JORDAN
Jordan River
Qalqiliya
NABLUS
West Bank
Tel Aviv
Salfit
Jalazun
RAMALLAH
No-man's-land
Beituniya
Jericho
Jerusalem
ISRAEL
BETHLEHEM
Ashqelon
Dead Sea
Gaza city
HEBRON
Gaza Strip
Khan Yunis
Beersheba
EGYPT

ADAPTED FROM TIME MAP BY JOE LERTOLA. SOURCES: AP, FOUNDATION FOR MIDDLE EAST PIECE, EAST VIEW CARTOGRAPHIC

20 miles
20 km

A crime against humanity?

UN Report on Jenin and other Palestinian cities, and its limitations

Following a request by the United Nations General Assembly, Secretary-General Kofi Annan released a report August 1, 2002 on the events surrounding the Israeli military "incursions" earlier this year into the West Bank town of Jenin and other Palestinian cities in what proved to be the most extensive such operation by Israel in a decade.

"While some of the facts may be in dispute, I think it is clear that the Palestinian population have suffered, and are suffering, the human-itarian consequences, which is very severe," he said at UN Headquarters in New York.

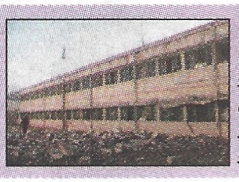
"I would hope that both parties would draw the right lessons from this tragic episode and take steps to end the cycle of violence, which is killing innocent civilians on both sides," he said.

The report was written without a visit to Jenin or any other Palestinian city in order to establish the facts on the ground. Israel refused to co-operate with the UN fact-finding mission, proposed by the Secretary-General and backed by the Security Council.

The report covers from the beginning of March to May 7, the day the General Assembly adopted a resolution decrying Israel's refusal.

▲ *Interior of home devastated by Israeli bomb, Nablus, 22 May 2002*

◀ *In Jenin, especially, from April 11-15, the UN and other humanitarian agencies were blocked by Israel from providing aid.*



◀ *Gaza Elementary 'B' Coeducational School, one of 20 UNRWA schools damaged or destroyed. Damage from shelling and looting to UN structures exceeded $300m.*

UNRWA PHOTOS BY ADNAN ABU-HASNA & ISA QARRA

"We didn't give them any chance"

Continued from page 9

went ahead of them (this is considered a war crime). If there was no answer, they blew the door open with explosives.

In one incident among many, a shield told the soldier he had heard a noise inside, but he blew the door open anyway, seriously wounding a woman. "Sorry," the soldier said and moved on.

What about Jenin's victims? The camp was home to 14,500 people. A thousand fled to neighbouring villages the day before the attack. The day after the tanks arrived, army loudspeakers called on the Palestinians to leave the camp. The curfew in force was lifted to ease their departure. That day and the days that followed, several thousand people left on foot for seven small villages. Four thousand remained in their homes without water, food or electricity, unable to go to hospital, with firing, shelling and explosions going on around them day and night.

Helicopters sprayed the camp. Only Cobras, familiar from the Vietnam war, were deployed. One Cobra pilot said: "Our squadron launched an enormous number of missiles into the camp every day of the fighting. Hundreds of missiles. The entire squadron was mobilised, including reservists. There were two Cobras in the air above Jenin all the time, ready to launch a missile at any building indicated from HQ on the ground. They can't swear their missiles didn't hit civilians."

A four-figure number

When asked whether firing TAW missiles at men armed with Kalashnikovs was like a video game, he said, "Yes. It's not an equal fight and that's just as well. I've never fired on women or children. If you mean didn't I shorten human lives, then yes. There's nothing I can do about it".[1] Deploying Cobras required hundreds of hours of preparation. The camp had been photographed by satellite and each house given a four figure reference number; the two pilots had a map and when they received an order with a number, a missile was immediately fired at the house. Nobody knows how many people those missiles struck, how many victims there were among the fighters and how many among civilians.

"It's not hard to imagine what happens inside those houses after everything that's been fired at them," said a reservist who asked to remain anonymous. "After our company commander was killed in the first minutes of the battle, our orders were clear. We had to shoot

KAHLED ZIGHARI, FROM A LONDON EXHIBIT

at every window, strafe every building whether or not we were being fired on. We were clearly told to break them. From then on, we fired everything the army had except artillery. We fired tens of missiles into houses and used heavy submachine guns against every window. We even killed a horse in the street. Every night our orders were to rouse the camp. The idea was to fire on them and provoke them to respond, then fire where their fire was coming from. But we fired enormous quantities of munitions in all directions. During the curfew there were "violent patrols". A tank would race through empty streets, crushing everything in its path and opening fire on anyone who broke the curfew."

Had he seen any victims? "Personally, no. They were in their houses. The last few days, most of those who came out were old men, women and children. We didn't give them any

The report was forced to rely on "available resources and information", as requested by the Assembly. Sources included submissions from six UN Member States and Observer Missions, documents in the public domain, and evidence submitted by non-governmental organisations who, by contrast, did visit Jenin. The Palestinian Authority submitted information, Israel repeatedly refused requests from Kofi Annan. The report makes use of publicly available information from Israel.

Setting out the context of the situation in Israel and the Occupied Territory, the report describes what it terms the security and humanitarian responsibilities of both parties, and charts the rising violence since September 2000, which had – by 7 May 2002 – resulted in the deaths of 441 Israelis and 1,539 Palestinians.

Operation Defensive Shield began on March 29 with an "incursion" into Ramallah, followed by entry into Tulkarem and Qalqilya on April 1, Bethlehem on April 2, and Jenin and Nablus on April 3. By April 3, the military had occupied six of the largest cities in the West Bank, and surrounding towns, villages and refugee camps.

The consequences lasted far longer than its officially announced conclusion on April 21, the report notes. Much of the fighting took place in areas heavily populated by civilians. In many cases heavy weaponry was used.

The people of these cities suffered severe hardships, which have sharply intensified since the spring. There has been a near-complete cessation of all productive activity in the main West Bank centres of manufacturing, construction, commerce and private and public services, exacerbating the severe decline in living standards over the last 18 months.

The report describes the Israeli concerns that a number of the cities served as bases for Palestinian terrorists and their attacks against Israel. It also quotes allegations that Palestinian groups had widely booby-trapped civilian homes to target Israeli Defence Force (IDF) personnel. It quotes the Palestinian Authority as acknowledging that a number of Palestinian fighters resisted the Israeli military assault. The UN did not have a mandate to monitor and report on conditions in Israel, as it does in the occupied Palestinian territory, and, therefore, did not have detailed information about the broader impact on Israel's society and economy.

As for the death toll, the report quotes figures that the IDF lost 30 soldiers. During the reviewed period, Israel also endured some 16 bombings, the majority of them suicide attacks, resulting in the death of 100 persons and injuries to scores of others.

On the Palestinian side, 497 were killed and 1,447 wounded in the course of the IDF reoccupation of Palestinian areas from March 1 to May 7 and in the immediate aftermath. Most accounts estimate that between 70 and 80 Palestinians, including about 50 civilians, were killed in Nablus, where four IDF soldiers lost their lives. In Jenin, by the time of the IDF's withdrawal and the lifting of the curfew on April 18, at least 52 Palestinians, possibly half of them civilians, and 23 Israeli soldiers were dead.

By May 6, some 7,000 Palestinians had been arrested, many of them held for long periods with little or no outside contact. The IDF followed a pattern of using loudspeakers to summon males between the ages of 15 and 45. According to human rights reports, significant numbers were blindfolded, handcuffed, not allowed to use a lavatory, and deprived of food or blankets during their first day in detention. The army moved more than 300 prisoners to tents in the reopened Ketziot desert detention camp, notorious for its inhumane conditions.

Use of human shields

There were numerous reports of the IDF compelling Palestinian civilians to accompany them during house searches, check suspicious subjects, stand in the line of fire, and in other ways protect soldiers from danger. Witnesses claim that this was done in the Jenin camp and other Palestinian cities. Israel denied that its cadre systematically engaged in this practice, but on May 5 issued "an unequivocal order ... that forces in the field are absolutely forbidden to use civilians as a means of 'living shield'."

Operation Defensive Shield resulted in the ▶

Continued on page 12

chance to leave the camp. There were a lot of them. One night I was on guard in a flat where we were based. All night I could hear a little girl crying. It was dehumanising. It's true we've been under constant fire, but we wiped out a town".[2]

On April 11th the last Palestinian fighters stopped their steadfast resistance. In Israel, the many Palestinian victims shocked not only all those who deplore the government's policy of force, but also all those who fear that the state's image will be tarnished. Pacifists demonstrated in every large town, even trying to get humanitarian aid through to the stricken population.

The daily *Ha'aretz* reported that even the foreign minister, Shimon Peres, was alarmed at the "hostile international reaction once the scale of the battle in the Jenin refugee camp, where over 100 Palestinians were killed, became known. Behind closed doors, Peres described the operation as a massacre".[3]

When the prime minister called his remarks irresponsible, Peres said he had been misquoted. But the number of documented Palestinian victims continued to rise. Zeev Schiff, defence correspondent for *Ha'aretz*, who has links with the military establishment, reported that "80 bodies were found during the first searches after the fighting was over. The number of victims is estimated at 200 Palestinians, including civilians, some of them buried under the rubble of collapsed buildings".[4] Two hundred dead seems to be the correct figure; army spokesman Colonel Ron Kitri also uses it.[5]

The camp's inhabitants consider it an underestimate. The defence minister, Benjamin Ben Eliezer, says the true figure is only in the tens, not the hundreds. An Israeli leaderwriter asks: "Is it possible that in such severe fighting, that cost 23 Israeli soldiers their lives and wounded 60, in which assault helicopters, tanks and heavy bulldozers were involved and where the destruction was so heavy, the number of (Palestinian) dead can have been so small? It does not add up".[6]

The secret of the death toll, which must be high, lies under the rubble, in the Palestinian graves and the pits dug by the army. During the fighting 15 victims were buried by local people, eight of them in front of the camp hospital. East of the camp is a patch of waste ground where witnesses claim to have seen Israeli soldiers with a bulldozer, "burying bodies". A small number of victims were buried near the cemetery. The health services were also holding bodies and 48 had been buried.

The greatest mystery surrounds the corpses picked up in the camp and taken first to the Saadeh woods north of Jenin. There the military rabbinate wrapped them in black plastic bags and they were transported in refrigerated lorries to the cemetery created by the Israeli army for Palestinian activists near Damiah bridge in the Jordan valley ... Israeli human rights groups went to the Supreme Court to get these burials stopped, but most of the work had already been done. How many bodies were taken there is unknown.

This means that the commission set up by the UN Secretary General to investigate the events in Jenin faced a difficult task. Sharon raised objections to its membership and terms of reference, and it was repeatedly denied access to Jenin. Investigation was needed into why the Red Cross, Red Crescent and other humanitarian organisations were kept out of the area for 11 days in defiance of international law.

The Palestinians asked for heavy equipment to be sent urgently to clear the rubble. Israel has such equipment but refused. It is unusual for the local and international press to be kept out of an area for so long, and there are many doubts about the army and government versions of events; it was felt that they had something to hide. Apart from a few journalists, the Israeli press failed to keep up with events.

The Jenin Palestinian refugee camp is the latest in a long list of crimes in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, from the Qibya massacre of 1953 through Sabra and Shatila in 1982. What is common to them all? Ariel Sharon. ■

* *Israeli Journalist, Jerusalem; author of Sabra et Chatila, enquête sur un massacre, Seuil, Paris, 1982*

1. *Yediot Aharonot*, Tel Aviv, 19 April 2002.
2. Ibid.
3. *Ha'aretz*, Tel Aviv, 9 April 2002.
4. *Ha'aretz*, 12 April 2002.
5. Ibid. 15 April 2002.
6. *Yediot Aharonot*, 19 April 2002.

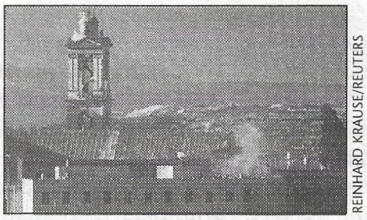
Continued from page 11

18 Palestinians, Nablus

widespread destruction of Palestinian private and public property. The IDF used bulldozers, tank shelling and rocket firing, at times from helicopters, in populated areas. Over 2,800 refugee housing units were damaged and 878 homes were demolished or destroyed during the period covered, leaving more than 17,000 people homeless or in need of shelter rehabilitation. Nablus was especially hard hit in terms of physical destruction, notably in its Old City, which contains many buildings of cultural, religious and historic significance.

UN agencies and other international agencies, when allowed into Ramallah and other Palestinian cities, documented extensive physical damage to Palestinian Authority civilian property. It included the destruction of office equipment, such as computers and photocopying machines, that did not appear to be related to military objectives. While denying that such destruction was systematic, the IDF has admitted that its personnel engaged in some acts of vandalism, and is carrying out some related prosecutions.

Round-the-clock curfews were imposed in cities, refugee camps, towns and villages, affecting an estimated one million people. 220,000 urban residents lived under curfew regimes for over a week, without vital supplies and access to first aid. In Nablus, for example, the IDF imposed a curfew on April 3 and completely lifted it only on April 22.



REINHARD KRAUSE/REUTERS

▲ *Smoke rises from the compound of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, April 8. Israeli forces shot at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, one of Christianity's holiest sites, after it offered refuge to 240 people, including 60 priests trapped inside.*

During and immediately after the incursions, the report finds that Palestinian civilians suffered from prolonged delays in medical attention for the wounded and sick. In Jenin, especially, from April 11-15, UN and other humanitarian agencies petitioned and negotiated with the IDF for access to the camp, and made many attempts to send in convoys, to no avail. Many reports of human rights groups contain accounts of wounded civilians waiting days to reach medical assistance, and being refused medical treatment by IDF soldiers. In some cases, people died as a result of these delays.

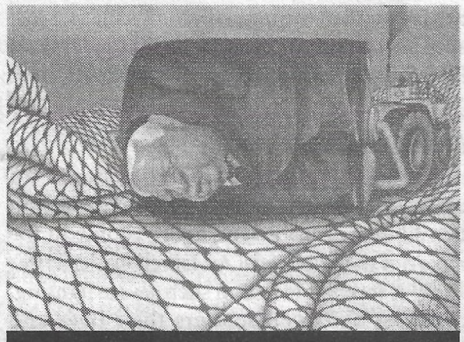
The report cites three times when Israeli forces attacked ambulances:

- On March 4 (before the Jenin "incursion"), the head of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society Emergency Medical Service in Jenin was killed by a shell fired from an Israeli tank while he was travelling in a clearly marked ambulance.
- On March 7, an employee of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) was shot and killed while riding in an UNRWA ambulance near Tulkarem

"If I have any regret, it is because we didn't destroy the entire camp"

Among the units that received citations was... the Central Command's Engineering Division, whose soldiers include the operators of the D-9 bulldozers in the Jenin refugee camp, for performing under fire with dedication and tenacity. Y-net, 4 June 2002

INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTRE
ISRAEL, JUNE 4, 2002



DRAWING FROM EXPRESSOR, LISBON

Confession of an award-winning Zionist soldier

7 Days, a magazine of the Israeli daily, *Yediot Aharonot,* discovered a very colourful "hero" of the tragic days of April 2002. This hero is 40-year-old Moshe Nisim, a military reservist and proud supporter of the Betar soccer team (a club supported by many right-wing Israelis).

In Jenin Nisim called himself "Duby Al-Kurdi" (Kurdish bear cub). The following is a summary of the original interview which appeared under the title, "I created for them a Teddy Stadium in the centre of the camp", by Zadoc Yehezekli.

At the time of the invasion of the Palestinian refugee camp in Jenin, Nisim was unemployed. He had recently been released from his position with the municipal government under suspicion of taking bribes. Nisim doesn't normally do military service. For the last 18 years his army unit has chosen not to call him to do his annual service. But when he heard that his friends were being called up to serve in operation "Defensive Shield", he insisted, this time, on being called up.

Nisim's Army trade is vehicle electrician, but this time he insisted on driving the armoured bulldozer known as the D-9. Usually you need a long course to become qualified to operate the D-9, but from the information he provided, Nisim had only two hours of training. He arrived at the site of the Jenin camp as 13 Israeli soldiers were killed in an ambush. Nisim mounted his bulldozer from which he flew the flag of his favourite soccer club and proceeded to bulldoze houses.

When asked by the reporter, "What part of your work was difficult"? he responded, "Difficult, what difficult, you must be joking. I wanted to obliterate everything. I begged the officers to let me demolish it from top to bottom. And believe me we destroyed too few. **For three days I just erased and erased.** The whole area. I would knock down every house they fired from. To do that I would demolish several other houses. They called out on a bullhorn to warn the residents before I came. **But I didn't give anybody a chance. I didn't wait. I didn't strike once and wait for them to leave. I would smash the house really hard so that it would collapse as quickly as possible.** I wanted to work as fast as possible so that I could get to the other houses. To get a lot done. Maybe others were restrained. Or they say they were restrained. Nonsense. Anybody who was there and saw our soldiers in the houses in the houses would understand they were in a death trap. I was thinking how to save them. I knocked down down everything, but I didn't demolish just for the sake of it. Everything was according to the orders I received. Lots of people were inside the houses when we began the demolition. They would leave their houses when we came in. I did not see anyone die under the shovel of the D-9, and I didn't see any house crash down on a living person. If there were though, that wouldn't have bothered me one bit. I am sure that people died in these houses, but it was very difficult to see. There was a lot of dust and we worked a lot at night.

"I got great pleasure out of every house I took down. I know they don't care if they live or die but losing their home really hurts them. You demolish a house and you destroy forty or fifty people for generations. If I have any regret, it is because we didn't destroy the entire camp.

"I derived great satisfaction from my role. I enjoyed myself. I couldn't stop. I wanted to work all the time. I made the officer in charge crazy.

"After the fighting was over, we were ordered to remove the D-9 because the army didn't want reporters and photographers to see them working. I fought with the army because I was getting great satisfaction from my work and wanted to stay. It was like putting the 18 years I didn't serve in the army into three days. The soldiers came to me and said 'Kurdi, you're OK...you're OK'!"

When Nisim was asked by the reporter, "How were you able to serve three days and three nights without sleep?", he replied, "I didn't feel tired at all. I drank whisky all the time. Everyone else packed clothes, but I packed whisky and snacks. **Jenin made me strong. Jenin made me forget all my troubles."** ■

▲ *Solidarity activists block an Armed Personnel Carrier in invaded Beit Jala, April 3, 2002*

in the West Bank.

- On April 8, an UNRWA ambulance was fired on as it tried to reach a wounded man in Jenin. Israel asserts that ambulances were used to transport terrorists.

The report stresses that a comprehensive account of the events in Jenin and other Palestinian cities could not be given without the full co-operation of both parties and a visit to the area. But Kofi Annan expressed confidence that "the picture painted in this report is a fair representation of a complex reality", saying that the events described show how urgent it is that the parties return to the peace process.

Such statements underline the other major limitation of the report. It chronicles the horrendous crimes committed against the Palestinian people, but it does not attempt to differentiate between victimizer and victim. Thus, the UN Secretary General can say that in the face of a "complex reality", the urgency is to return to the peace process, without condemning Israel for its occupation or emphasising the right of the Palestinian people to their dignty and statehood. Nor does it propose sanctions against Israel for its crimes against humanity, for which there is a wealth of information in eyewitness reports, some of which are cited in the UN report. *–staff* ■

'My team should have investigated Jenin'

William Nash, a retired US Army major general, was one of the members of the UN fact-finding mission assigned to investigate what happened in Jenin during the Israeli incursion into the Palestinian refugee camp last month. The team never got a chance to do its work. "Israel's need for clarification turned to obstruction and then to blockage. Our mood in turn changed from bemusement to frustration to anger," Nash writes. "There was so much misinformation about our intentions, about who we were and about whether our backgrounds predisposed us to misunderstand military necessities or the tragic circumstance of urban warfare. ... It soon became clear that the Israelis were fundamentally hostile to the very concept of finding out what had happened in Jenin. ... After our fact-finding mission was finally abandoned at the beginning of this month, we sat at the airport with a feeling of overwhelming frustration. We had the leadership, the experience and the right plan. But rather than having helped in uncovering the facts that could have dampened emotions, our thwarted mission only added to the controversy."– *Washington Post*, 10/5/02

AMMAR AWAD/REUTERS

▲ *The Al-Adhemy family have dinner by lamplight in their home on the seventh day of attack on Ramallah, April 4. Israel cut electric power, running water and food shipments to the city, endangering the lives of 120,000 people.*

▲ *Beirut, Lebanon, April 4* ▲ *New York, USA, April 4*

▲ *Palestinians protest in Gaza City*

▲ *Jakarta, Indonesia, April 7* ▲ *Toronto, Canada, April 20*

DADANG TRI/REUTERS

As governments and world bodies, including Canada, kept silent, did nothing or incited Israel, people act. Demonstrations grew in size and diversity, including protests of more than one million people in Morocco, unprecedented since the overthrow of the Shah of Iran, and 500,000 in London, barely reported in North America. These have escalated into fall, 2002. Hundreds of thousands take to the streets in Europe and Asia, while large protests take place in North America condemning Israel's genocidal offensive against the Palestinian people of the West Bank. International Brigades through direct action manage to enter Israel, enter Ramallah and reach Arafat. They join ambulance crews, and stand as one with the Palestinian people; human shields against the tanks, bullets and US helicopter gunships. Israel even tries to stops a delegation from Jerusalem churches from entering Ramallah. Demonstrations sent a powerful message: The massacres must end, the occupation must end, and the United States must stop backing Israeli apartheid and get out of the Middle East. ■

REACTION

Jenin Report denounced

The UN report is seriously flawed, Human Rights Watch said on August 2. It limits itself to presenting competing accounts of the events during the Israeli military operations. "The report doesn't move us forward in terms of establishing the truth," said Hanny Megally, executive director of the Middle East and North Africa Division of HRW.

While the report describes some allegations that have been made about the conduct of the Israeli and Palestinian sides during the Israeli operation, it draws almost no conclusions on the merits of those claims. It makes only limited reference to the obligations of the parties under international law, makes few clear conclusions about violations of that law, and does not raise the issue of accountability for serious violations that may have been committed, some of which rise to the level of war crimes.

Its information and analysis are strongest when dealing with the blockage of humanitarian and medical access to the camp. Examples of its failings include: it refers to civilians dying, without examining the circumstances of their deaths; it ignores strong evidence suggesting that some were wilfully killed, such as Jamal Fayid, a 37-year old paralysed man, who was crushed in the rubble of his home on April 7 after Israel Defence Forces (IDF) soldiers refused to allow his family time to remove him from their home before a bulldozer destroyed it; it mentions that missiles were "at times" fired from helicopters, minimizing evidence that their use was intense and indiscriminate in Jenin camp, particularly on April 6 when missiles caught many sleeping civilians.

In dealing with abuses outside Jenin, the report fails to consider the systematic targeting of the offices of Palestinian media organisations, as well as the serious impediments faced by international journalists and human rights monitors attempting to document events.

It does not discuss what, if any, steps the parties have taken to investigate credible allegations of violations of international humanitarian law raised in the report – vital for ensuring accountability and discouraging future violations.

Unlike the UN, HRW researchers spent three weeks on the ground, including in Jenin camp, immediately following the operation. Researchers gathered detailed accounts from victims and witnesses, corroborating and independently cross-checking their accounts with those of others to reconstruct a detailed picture of events in the camp in April 2002. The findings were published in a 52-page report, *Jenin: IDF Military Operations*. HRW has had no response from the IDF as to a promised investigation of its report.

Palestinian Response

Palestinians on August 1 called for an extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly to review the UN report. Nabil Abu Rudeina said the Palestinian Authority wanted the session with a view to "incriminating Israel". Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat asked, "How many civilians must be killed to speak of a massacre?" He added, "The UN should have used the word 'massacre' or 'war crime', especially because the Jenin camp is managed by the UN."

The Palestinian lawyers' group, LAW, also attacked the "disappointing Kofi Annan Report". See www.lawsociety.org/Press/Preleases/2002/August/aug1.html

'Letter from a Gaza hospital'

BY GHASSAN ABU SITTA
MIDDLE EAST INTERNATIONAL, JUNE, 2002

Al-Adwa Hospital towers over Jabaliya Refugee Camp from Tal al-Zatar, a hill on its northern edge. It was named in commemoration of the refugee camp whose inhabitants were massacred by Israel's Lebanese Phalangist allies, under Syria's auspices, in 1976. The hospital was built in 1993 and now serves a population of 220,000 inhabitants.

I arrived in Gaza on February 27 as part of a programme run by United Nations Development Program which allows diaspora Palestinians the opportunity to serve in a local Palestinian institution. It took me two days to get through the border crossing at Rafah, followed by six hours at the Israeli checkpoint separating the southern part of Gaza from its central part and another four hours at the checkpoint separating the central and northern parts.

Two days later I made a courtesy call to the hospital before I started work. Ten minutes after I arrived; an Israeli helicopter gunship fired a single missile into an office used by the Islamic Salvation Party in the camp. When 120,000 people live on two square miles there is no such thing as a surgical strike. Within a few minutes eleven children were brought into the hospital with shrapnel injuries, among them a nine-year girl with injuries to the head and neck.

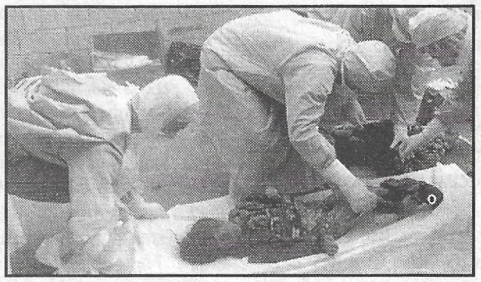
She died four days later.

I work as a plastic and reconstructive surgeon in Leeds, England, and my job in Gaza mainly involves reconstruction of limbs following gunshot and blast injuries. In order to see patients who live in the southern part of Gaza I have to allow at least three days: one at the checkpoints to get there, one seeing patients, and one to get back – assuming the checkpoints are open. Having overcome that obstacle, I discovered that the patients from the south are unable to reach the hospital on the day of their operation. Patients are now given a week before the operation to make it to the hospital where they can stay until the operation takes place.

In 1991 I worked in Iraq as part of the Harvard Study Team assessing the effects of the Gulf War and sanctions on the civilian population. Some of the children that I see in my clinic are as malnourished as the ones I saw in Iraq. What I do in Gaza is only symptom relief. The disease behind the injuries, the malnutrition and the poverty is Israel.

AHMED JADALLAH / REUTERS

▲ *A huge demonstration of Palestinians in the Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip on April 5, after the March 22 tank attack on the hospital*



On March 22 Israeli tanks opened fire on Jabaliya. Within 15 minutes 17 Palestinians had been killed, most dying in their homes. During the attack two tanks surrounded the hospital. Of the 22 killed and 83 injured, only six could be brought into al-Awada, carried by their relatives through the alleys at the back of the hospital.

When the Israelis occupied the West Bank a state of emergency was declared at the hospital, and staff worked for five days without rest. As the Israeli policy of denying injured Palestinians access to health facilities unfolded, and the stories of people being left to bleed to death in their homes became known, the Union of Palestinian Health Work Committees which runs al-Wada made the decision to set up field hospitals inside the camp.

Clinics and nurseries were equipped to deal with the injured. Doctors and nurses living in the camp were also given resuscitation kits, so that if the Israelis were to attack, the patients could at least receive aid.

Three days ago I performed my 100th operation in Gaza. Two of my patients from Rafah were later killed by the Israeli army. Many of the patients in their late 20s and early 30s had been also shot during the first intifada. Currently, I am treating a man who was shot in the back and paralysed a year after finishing a seven-year sentence in an Israeli prison. Tomorrow I'm going to Khan Yunis to pay my respects to a relative of mine whose 14-year-old son was recently killed by an Israeli sniper. His other son had just finished an eight-year sentence in an Israeli prison. In Gaza, when you peel away the outer layer of physical destruction – the bulldozed farms and demolished houses – you find damaged bodies and shattered lives. The trees can be replanted and the houses rebuilt, but you can't always rebuild a damaged body and you'll never bring back a loved one. ■

Destruction and deepening crisis

A true picture of the crisis of the Israeli economy, kept alive by massive US subsidies of $6-7bn annually, is seldom given. At the start of "Operation Defensive Shield" there was a record low devaluation of Israeli shekel on February 11. Trying to stem a decay in which Government debt could approach 100% of GDP, the Bank of Israel slashed interest rates. Deutsche Bank termed the 2002 budget "a disaster". The daily *Yedioth Aharonoth* wrote: "The Israeli government is increasingly perceived as a confused, embroiled, spineless entity, lacking direction, lacking answers and lacking credibility."

The daily *Ha'aretz* reported the following: "Unemployment reached an unprecedented 258,600 in the last quarter of 2001, representing 10.2% of the work force, while the number of job-seekers also reached a new high – 209,300 in January. Unemployment not only deepened, it expanded: In January there were 24 townships where unemployment topped 10%, compared to 15 in 2001. The high unemployment rate is a direct result of the deepening recession. In the last quarter of 2001, local production dropped by 7.2% while commercial production plummeted by 12%. There were similar dramatic declines in investment and private consumption.... ("Occupation or Prosperity", 20/2/02)

Israel turns even its own dreadful economic management into a weapon against Palestinians.

At the start of the Second Intifada, in November 2000, Israeli officials disclosed that, as a strategic matter, the government had restricted the Palestinian economy in order to effect social control. ("Israel targets Palestinian economy", *Ha'aretz*, 17/11/00).

Said Reuters: Israel by means of a tight economic "blockade strangles those who survive: the Jewish State is suffocating the Palestinian territories ... in an attempt to erode the will of its people." (29/11/00)

The UN Commission on Human Rights reported: "the cumulative effects of Israel's strategy to cripple the Palestinian economy has cost the occupied territories 50.9% of their GNP, with construction, commerce and the agriculture/fishing sectors being the hardest hit. As a result, the poverty rate for Palestinians has risen from 21.1%, in September 2000, to 31.8%, at the end of 2001." (2/13/01)

Palestinian unemployment is skyrocketing – Adalah, an Arab rights organization, says it is about 40%.

In 1996 twice as many Arab citizens (28.3%) as Jewish citizens (14.4%) lived below the poverty line.

90% of Palestinian workers must travel to Jewish towns for employment. Less than 5% of government employees are Arab. 80% of all student drop-outs are Arab.

Israel's plan is not just to hold land in the Ocuupied Territories and fill it with armed settlers who wreak havoc on Palestinian orchards – the burning of several hundred thousand olive trees, schoolchildren and homes. According to researcher Sara Roy, it is to make life so impossible the Palestinians will leave.

Since 1967, leaders have been killed, jailed and deported, small businesses and farms disrupted by confiscation and destruction, and universities closed (in the mid-'80s Palestinian universities were closed for four years). Students are currently prevented by curfew from attending school. No Palestinian enterprise may export directly to any Arab country or even to Canada (under the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement); products must pass through Israel. Palestinian Authority taxes are paid first to Israel and then confiscated.

Palestinians are concentrated in the lowest paying jobs and form a super-exploited labour force for Israeli capital. The Occupied Territories import 93% of goods but export a mere 7% of what they produce.

During the first 15 months of the Intifada the occupation caused physical damage amounting to US$ 305m. During the month long invasion in March and April, the Israeli army destroyed and looted US$361m worth of property. – *Editorial staff* ■

Telling the truth about Israel

When journalists knowingly shade the facts

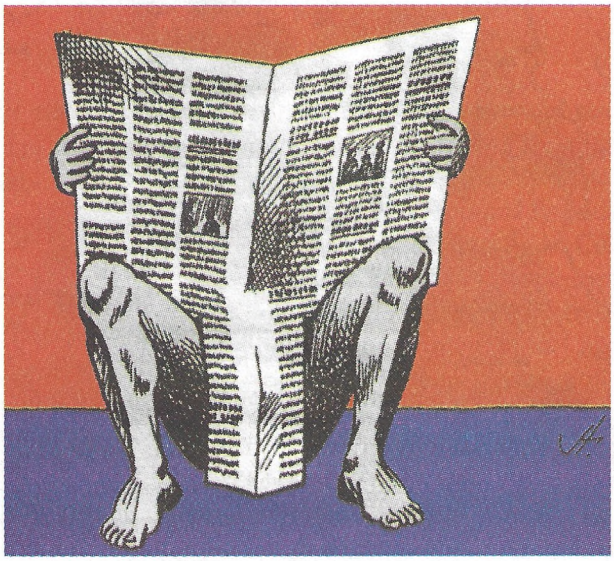
BY ROBERT FISK, 17 APRIL 2001, INDEPENDENT (UK)

What if we had supported the apartheid regime of South Africa against the majority black population? What if we had lauded the South African white leadership as "hard-line warriors" rather than racists? What if we had explained the shooting of 56 black protesters at Sharpeville as an understandable "security crackdown" by the South African police. And described black children shot by the police as an act of "child sacrifice" by their parents? What if we had called upon the "terrorist" ANC leadership to "control their own people".

Almost every day that is exactly the way we are playing the Israeli-Palestinian war. No matter how many youths are shot dead by the Israelis, no matter how many murders – by either side – and no matter how bloody the reputation of the Israeli Prime Minister, we are reporting this terrible conflict as if we supported the South African whites against the blacks. No, Israel is not South Africa (though it happily supported the apartheid regime) and no, the Palestinians are not the blacks of the shanty towns. But there's not much difference between Gaza and the black slums of Johannesburg; and there's not much difference between the tactics of the Israeli army in the occupied territories and that of the South African police. The apartheid regime had death squads, just as Israel has today. Yet even they did not use helicopter gunships and missiles.

Rarely since the Second World War has a people been so vilified as the Palestinians. And rarely has a people been so frequently excused and placated as the Israelis. Israeli embassies are now buttonholing editors around the world, saying that it's not fair to call Israel's Prime Minister "hard-line". And the reporters are falling into line.

Sharon, we are told, may turn into a pragmatist, another De Gaulle; in truth he's more like the French putschist generals in Algeria. They also used torture and massacred their Arab opponents. It needed an Israeli writer – Nehemia Strasler, in *Ha'aretz* – to point out that Sharon's career spells anything but peace. He voted against the peace treaty with Egypt in 1979. He voted against a withdrawal from southern Lebanon in 1985. He opposed Israel's participation in the Madrid peace conference in 1991. He opposed the Knesset plenum vote on the Oslo agreement in 1993. He abstained on a vote for peace with Jordan in 1994. He voted against the Hebron agreement in 1997. He condemned the manner of Israel's retreat from Lebanon in 2000. He is now building Jewish settlements on occupied Arab land – in total violation of international law at a faster rate than his predecessor.



'Fear of being slandered as "anti-Semites" means we are abetting terrible deeds in the Middle East'

Robert Fisk has spent the last 27 years covering the Middle East. He is the seven-time winner of the British International Journalist of the Year award and the Amnesty International Press Award, most recently in 2000. He broke the story about the Israeli shelling of the UN compound in Qana, Lebanon in 1996, and was one of the first reporters in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camp in 1982.

Yet we are to believe that it is the corrupt, Parkinson's-haunted Yasser Arafat who is to blame for the war. He will not "control" his people. He is chastised by George Bush while his people are bestialised by the Israeli leadership. Rafael Eytan, the former Israeli chief of staff, used to talk of the Palestinians as "cockroaches in a glass jar". Menachem Begin called them "two-legged beasts". Rabbi Ovdia Yousef, the spiritual head of the Shas party, called them "serpents". In August last year, Ehud Barak called them "crocodiles". Last month, the Israeli tourism minister, Rehavem Zeevi, called Arafat a "scorpion". Even the South African regime never called the blacks by such vile names.

And woe betide the diplomat or journalist who points this out. Earlier this year, the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, in Paris, accused the Swedish president of the European Union of "encouraging anti-Jewish violence". To condemn Israel for "eliminating terrorists", the centre wrote in a letter to the Swedish prime minister, "recalls the allied argument during the Second World War, according to which bombing the railways leading to Auschwitz would encourage anti-Semitism among the Germans". Sweden was making "a unilateral attack against the state of the survivors of the Holocaust". And the Swedish president's crime? She had dared to say that "the practice of eliminations constitutes an obstacle to peace and could provoke new violence". She did not even refer to death squads.

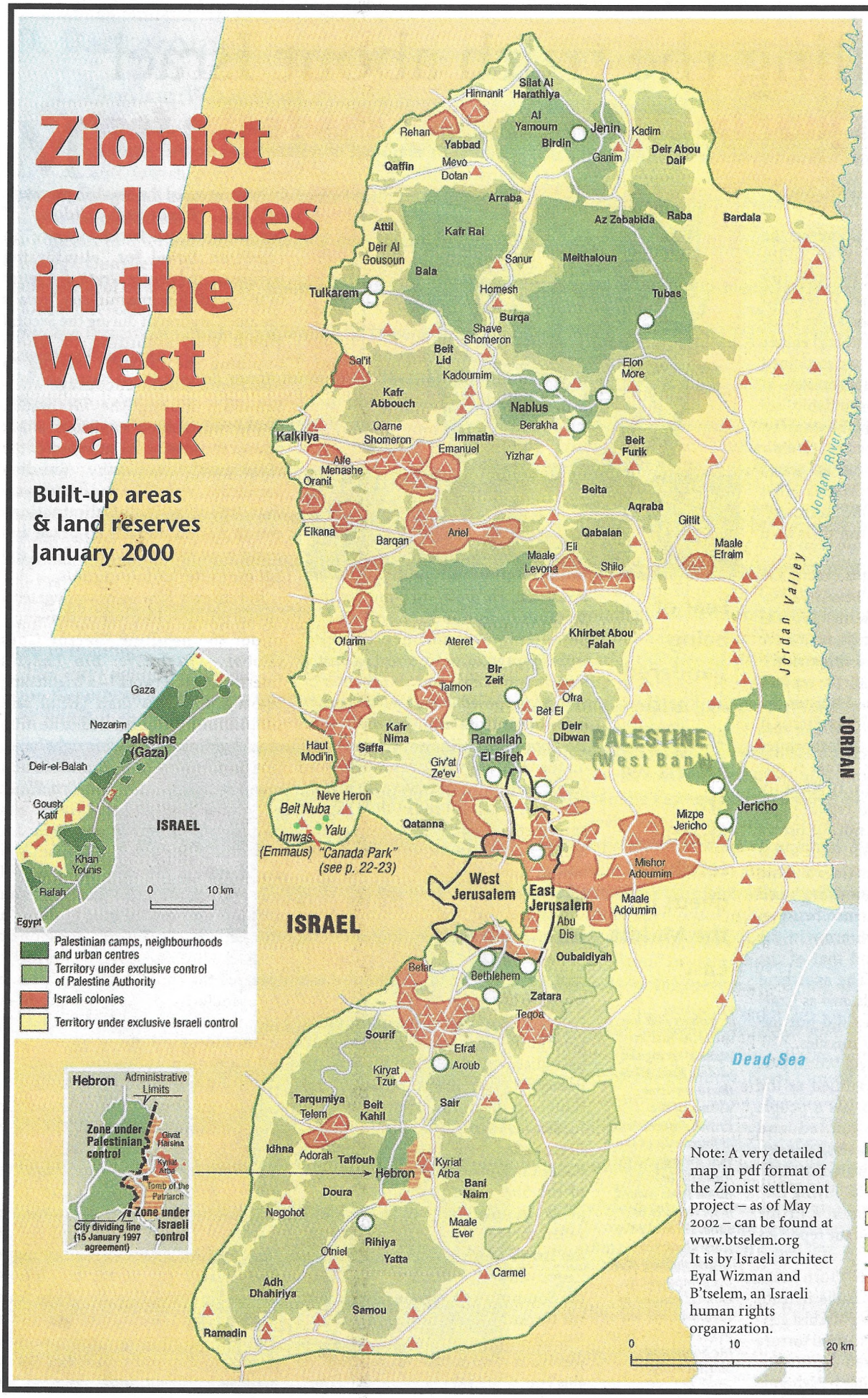
In February *Newsweek* propagated a virtual fraud on its cover by showing – under the headline "Terror Goes Global – Exclusive: Bin Laden's International Network" – a frightening photograph of a man (head and shoulders), his face covered in an Arab scarf, holding a rifle in his right hand. The reader would imagine this to be a member of Osama bin Laden's network of "global terror". But I traced the Finnish photographer who took this picture. He snapped it at a funeral on the West Bank. The man was an armed member of the Palestinian Tanzim militia – and had nothing to do with Bin Laden. The Tanzim are violent enough. But the cover generically smeared the entire Palestinian people by associating them with the man supposedly responsible for bombing US embassies in Africa.

As that brave American writer Charley Reese said in his regular US column, the Israelis "have created their own unconquerable enemy". They have made the Palestinians so crushed, so desperate, so humiliated that they have nothing to lose. We, too, have done this. Our gutlessness, our refusal to tell the truth, our fear of being slandered as "anti-Semites" – the most loathsome of libels against any journalist – means that we are aiding and abetting terrible deeds in the Middle East. Maybe we should look up those cuttings of the apartheid era and remember when men were not without honour. ■

Zionist Colonies in the West Bank

Built-up areas & land reserves January 2000

Palestinian camps, neighbourhoods and urban centres
Territory under exclusive control of Palestine Authority
Israeli colonies
Territory under exclusive Israeli control



There are over 200 Israeli colonies in the Occupied Territories housing more than 400,000 settlers. This map shows the fragmentation of West Bank territory by Jewish colonization. It reveals the settlement expansion as set out in Israeli masterplans. It shows:

- location, size and form of existing settlements
- different jurisdictions
- locations of Palestinian communities
- areas under limited Palestinian authority

This means a Palestinian 'state' splintered by settlements, split into three areas, lacking territorial continuity, and eaten away by growing Israeli settlement.

The settlers in the West Bank occupy a built-up area constituting only 1.7 per cent of the land. But their municipal boundaries and regional councils now control a total of 41.9 per cent!

Israeli law provides that, within their municipal boundaries, settlements could still triple their built fabric and population. Forty-four new colonies have been built since 28 September, 2000.

Note: A very detailed map in pdf format of the Zionist settlement project – as of May 2002 – can be found at www.btselem.org
It is by Israeli architect Eyal Wizman and B'tselem, an Israeli human rights organization.

Zone A: Territory controlled by Palestine Authority
Zone B: Mixed control. Israeli army controls security
Zone C: Territory under exclusive Israeli control
Nature Reserves (Zone B)
Green Line (1949 Armistice)
Israeli colonies, settlements
Palestinian refugee camps
Access roads to settlements
Other routes
Palestinian towns destroyed by Israel – "Canada Park"

Expulsion & transfer: Israel's plan

MICHAEL MONTEAUX, PARIS (INSET: KHALED ZIGHARI)

◀ **Israeli settlements outside Jerusalem, 1992. Between 1967 and 1977, Israel established a *fait accompli* settlement policy under the pretext of 'national security' – building high-rise settlements to encircle the Palestinian population of East Jerusalem. (Inset): What remains of the house of this child Mohammad abu Sawi, 4/8/97**

BY JEFF HALPER

FROM COUNTERPUNCH, 1 JUNE 2002

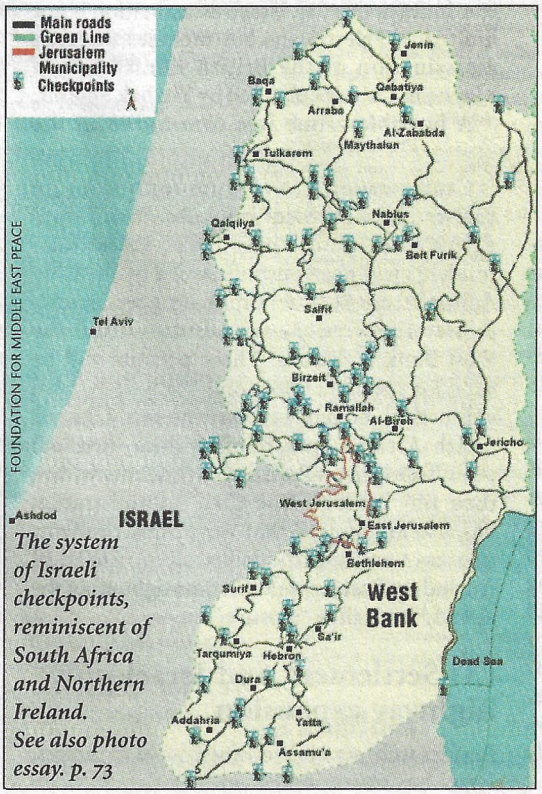
Like Sharon's 1982 war in Lebanon – also minimized as simply an "operation" (Operation Peace for the Galilee) – **Operation Defensive Shield** had political goals far beyond that indicated by its modest "defensive" name. Under the guise of destroying the "infrastructure of terrorism", Sharon (and his willing partner Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, head of the Labor Party) believe they have accomplished two major goals that fundamentally alter the political situation. In Jenin they "destroyed" the Palestinians' ability to resist the ever-expanding Occupation. In Ramallah they "destroyed" the infrastructure of Palestinian civil society, rendering the Palestinians unable to govern themselves. To be sure, terrorist "incidents" will still occur occasionally, but the Israeli army is today engaged in mopping up exercises. It enters Palestinian areas with absolute impunity, with nary a whiff of opposition from the "international community".

The Israeli government believes it has defeated the Palestinians once and for all. What is left? Mopping up operations that we are witnessing these days in towns and cities throughout the West Bank; and construction of a type of rule that leaves Israel firmly in control of Jerusalem and the West Bank (and its settlement network intact), yet relieves it of direct rule over the Territories' three million Palestinians. It is no coincidence that Israeli and American insistence on "reforms" within the Palestinian Authority begin with the security services. So, too, can the vilification campaign being waged against Arafat be interpreted as trying to get beyond him to a leader who will sign off on a mini-state that ensures Israel's continued control.

To make this all palatable to the international community, Israel and the US must also offer a sop to the notion of Palestinian self-determination. The outlines of Sharon's grand scheme are already taking shape on the ground. Israel's emerging post-incursion strategy has three main components:

(1) "Separation"

On the surface the notion of "separation" seems to be an innocent security measure. It involves the construction of a massive "buffer zone" extending along the **"Green Line"** some 10-20 kilometres into Palestinian territory, **where Israel is currently erecting a formidable maze of concrete walls and barricades, trenches, canals, electrified and barbed-wire fences, bunkers, guard towers, surveillance cameras, security crossings and platforms.** While it has its security side, the policy of separation is intended to delineate the areas of the West Bank that Israel wishes to claim. It eliminates forever the possibility that the thick corridor between the Ariel settlement bloc and Greater Jerusalem will be relinquished to the Palestinians, as Clinton's plan envisioned. It places the large settlements in the western part of the West Bank squarely (and irreversibly) within the *de facto* border created by the security installations including East Jerusalem, which is today being "isolated" from the wider West Bank. "Separation" is, in the end, a mechanism for annexation of about 15 per cent of the West Bank under the guise of "security," effectively removing it as a subject of negotiation. The militarized "buffer zone" is only one component of a wider system of incorporation that includes the construction of the Cross Israel Highway (see map p. 23) and the "by-pass" highways (facing page) that link it to the settlements.



The system of Israeli checkpoints, reminiscent of South Africa and Northern Ireland. See also photo essay. p. 73

(2) Cantonization

One of the most dramatic outcomes of the Israeli incursions is the effective nullification of Areas A, B and C, fundamental components of the Oslo process. Instead a new, more rational form of control is emerging, one that institutionalizes the siege on the Palestinian cities and turns it into a permanent administrative arrangement. The extra-territorial status of Areas A and B, supposedly under the civil jurisdiction the Palestinian Authority, has been effectively ended. Areas A and B will be replaced by an even more constricting ▶

Israeli terrorism

'How you define a terrorist act depends on whether you're looking down the wrong end of a gun barrel'

BY DR. ISMAIL ZAYID
HALIFAX HERALD, NOVEMBER 4, 2001

The horrendous massacre of thousands of innocent victims, on September 11 in New York and Washington, brought a great deal of attention to the subject of terrorism, Osama bin Laden and his group, al-Qaida.

There has also been some insinuation, by the media and politicians, towards Arabs and Muslims, with reference to the Middle East and the Palestine conflict.

But nowhere is there any mention of Israeli terrorism in relation to this conflict.

Terrorism is defined in a variety of ways. An interesting definition is put forward by the noted intellectual Noam Chomsky, who wrote:

> There is another defining property of 'terrorism' in contemporary (Orwellian) newspeak: it refers to violent acts by Them, not Us.

Another definition is when the men, women and children who are killed are Palestinians and the gunmen or pilots who murder them are Israelis. This form of terrorism is not terrorism, we are told, but mere retaliation, self defence or what they may call "civilized terrorism."

The late professor Israel Shahak, a Holocaust survivor, and then chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, wrote:

> There is nothing new in the fact that Israel is a terrorist state, which, almost from its inception, has used its intelligence service (the Mossad) to assassinate people on foreign soil with any violence or terror it considers necessary for its ends.

The actions of the state of Israel since its creation, and those of the terrorist gangs (the Stern, Irgun Zwei Leumi and the Haganah) that brought it about, testify to Israel's long-established record in terrorism, not only in the Middle East but on the international scene. This record is massive and would take volumes to relate but I will refer only to a few examples.

Assassination of Palestinian leaders and intellectuals, in Europe and the Middle East has gone on for years. This includes the 1972 Lillehammer affair in Norway, where an innocent Moroccan waiter was killed in error, instead of a targeted Palestinian; the murder of the Palestinian diplomat and scholar Naim Khader in 1985 in Brussels, and many others.

Fathi Shikaki was assassinated in Malta in 1995 on the orders of Yitzhak Rabin. The role of Ehud Barak, dressed as an Arab woman, in the assassination of three Palestinian leaders, including the poet Kemal Nasser, in 1973 in Beirut, must not be forgotten.

Israeli-targeted assassination of Palestinians described as activists, as well as bystanders, continues to this day. Israeli assassination is not limited to Palestinians but includes the 1944 assassination of the British minister Lord Moyne in Cairo as planned by Yitzhak Shamir.

A horrible crime was committed in the assassination of the Swedish nobleman, Count Folke Bernadotte, a UN mediator, on 17 September 1948 in Jerusalem, on the orders of Yitzhak Shamir, who later became prime minister of Israel. Count Bernadotte's sin was his recommendation, as the UN mediator, that Palestinian refugees who were driven out from their homes by Israel should be allowed to return to their homes. This recommendation was the substance of the UN resolution 194, on 11 December 1948, stipulating the right of return for the Palestinian refugees as soon as possible.

▲ *Count Bernadotte*

Israeli use of chemical weapons is also on record in the botched attempt to assassinate Khalid Meshal in Amman in 1997, on the orders of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Incredible as it may seem, Israel also indulged in the development of bioterrorism.

Some readers may recall Daniel Paul's column in *The Chronicle-Herald* titled "Where is the outrage over Israel's work on biological weapon?" (15/1/1999). He referred to a report

Israel's Plan

system of cantons (called euphemistically and misleadingly "security zones" in Israeli parlance). The West Bank, it was announced this week, will be carved into eight zones organized around the major cities: Jenin, Nablus, Qalqilya, Tul Karm, Ramallah, Jericho, Bethlehem and Hebron. Gaza will be divided into three such zones. Besides restrictions on movement of people, Palestinian cargoes will have to be transferred "back-to-back" to Israeli trucks at platforms strategically located between Palestinian cities, then re-transferred back to Palestinian vehicles for transport to their Palestinian destinations. Cargo travelling between Hebron and Jenin, for example, will have to be loaded and unloaded some five or six times. Not only does this policy violate international law guaranteeing freedom of movement in occupied territories, it also deals a devastating blow to Palestinian commerce, already virtually moribund.

Cantonization also requires restrictions on Palestinian movement reminiscent of South Africa's notorious "pass laws." Palestinian residents will need permits issued by the Civil Administration, Israel's military government, for travel between cities and cantons within the West Bank and Gaza. These permits will be valid for specified hours only (5am-7pm), and will have to be renewed each month. Like the South African "passbooks," these internal permits imprison Palestinian residents within their tiny cantons. The Civil Administration has also announced that West Bank residents of Areas A and B will be denied all entry to Israel (including East Jerusalem), thus tightening the already strangling "closure."

(3) Settlement and Israel-only highway expansion

Besides military and administrative measures, Israel has always relied on "creating facts on the ground" to make its presence in the Occupied Territories irreversible and to neutralize any attempt to wrest control from it. Simultaneous to presenting its cantonization plan, the government publicly announced its intention to build 957 housing units in the West Bank settlements, most in the "Greater Jerusalem" area. Both its timing and the casual, almost contemptuous way it was announced at a time when the international community is working to freeze settlement construction under the US Tenet Plan indicates the degree to which Israel feels its activities are beyond international control. The building of the 480 kilometre system of "by-pass" highways that link the settlements into Israel while creating additional barriers to Palestinian movement continues unabated.

Since the Palestinians have been roundly and, in Sharon's view, permanently defeated, there is no longer any need to give even lip-service to the limited independence envisioned for the Palestinians in the Oslo "peace process."

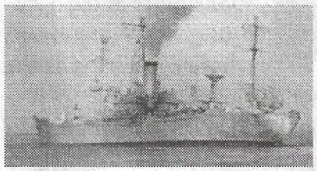
in *The Sunday Herald* – "The Ethnic Bomb: Israeli weapons would kill Arabs, spare Jews," (15/11/1998), from *The Sunday Times of London*, quoting Israeli scientists and politicians.

The first act of air piracy in the history of civil aviation was carried out by Israel in 1954, when a civilian Syrian airliner was forced down in Tel Aviv and its passengers and crew held hostage, despite international condemnation.

The first act of shooting down a civilian airliner was deliberately carried out by Israel when a Libyan airliner was shot down by Israeli jet fighters over Sinai in February 1973, on the orders of Israeli prime minister Golda Meir, killing 107 of its passengers and its entire French crew.

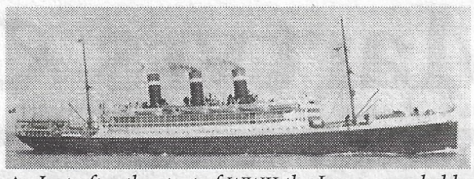
Israeli terror was not restricted to Palestinians, Arabs and Europeans but included its own closest supporter and ally, the United States. In 1954, Israeli secret agents bombed the US diplomatic centres in Cairo and Alexandria (known as the Lavon Affair), in an attempt to put the blame on the Egyptians. Israel later honoured the perpetrator, Marcello Ninio.

In June 1967, Israeli forces attacked and sank the US spy ship *USS Liberty,* and strafed rescue boats, killing 35 and injuring 170 US servicemen, in an attempt to conceal its own secret communications, and again tried to blame it on the Egyptians. To this day, incredible as it may seem, the US Congress refuses to hold an inquiry into this crime, as requested by the surviving crew. Needless to say, no sanctions were imposed or calls to extradite the perpetrators were made.



▲ USS Liberty *maintains steerageway about 14 hours after attack*

Zionist terror did not spare Jews. In 1940, Menachem Begin's Irgun Zwei Leumi terrorist gang bombed the ship *Patria* in Haifa harbour, killing 240 Jewish refugees, so as to put the blame on the British for political gain.



▲ *Just after the start of WWII the Irgun gang led by Begin blew up the* SS Patria *under French flag in Haifa*

In 1950-51, Israeli agents were dispatched to Iraq where they tossed hand grenades into the crowded Massauda Shem-Tov synagogue, causing numerous deaths, in order to blame it on the Iraqis and encourage reluctant Iraqi Jews to emigrate to Israel.

Israeli terrorism against Palestinians continues, including murder, torture, expropriation of their land, for the creation of illegal settlements and demolition of thousands of their homes as well as entire towns and villages, not to mention numerous massacres, including those of Deir Yassin, Qibya and Sabra and Shatilla.

The Palestinians of the West Bank have remained under illegal occupation for over 34 years, in defiance of international law and UN Security Council resolutions. Their acts of resistance are described by Israel as terrorism, yet international law entitles all peoples, including even the Palestinian people, to resist foreign occupation.

Occupation is violence, and to bring an end to violence and bring peace and security for Israelis and Palestinians, Israel must comply with international law and withdraw completely from all territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem.

Israeli acts of belligerency extend beyond its defiance of international law and Security Council resolutions to violation of its own agreements with the Palestinian Authority.

Its recent re-occupation, of seven cities and towns in the Palestinian autonomous areas, is illegal. The pretext for this is the recent assassination of the Israeli Minister of Tourism, Rehavam Zeevi, by members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in retaliation for Israel's assassination of their leader Mustafa Zibri two months earlier.

Mr. Zibri's assassination was one of over 50 Palestinian leaders assassinated over the last year. The invasion of these towns, including Bethlehem and Beit Jala, using tanks and Apache warships, has resulted in the demolition of scores of homes and the killing of over 50 Palestinians, mostly women and children.

The invasion of these towns and cities continues in defiance of international condemnation and the call for immediate withdrawal by the US, Israel's ally, benefactor and unquestioning supporter. But, alas, Israel remains above international law.

The late Canadian historian Frank Epp, then president of Grebel college of the University of Waterloo, wrote:

> It is true that terrorist acts have been perpetrated by people identified as Palestinians. But there is another terrorism which is more vicious and brutal, that of dispossession and displacement forced upon the Palestinians. However, terrorism meted out by the Palestinians, regrettable as it is, is minute by comparison with that which has been inflicted on them. The mass media have failed to make this point adequately.

The tragedy for the Jewish people of Israel, in the crimes that are committed in their name, is highlighted in the statement made by the noted British historian Arnold Toynbee, who stated in a 1961 lecture at McGill University to a largely Jewish audience:

> The Jewish treatment of the Arabs in 1948 was as morally indefensible as the slaughter by the Nazis of six million Jews... The most tragic thing in human life is when people who have suffered impose suffering in their turn.

The Palestinian people today are calling for a modicum of justice. Without this, there will be no peace for Arab or Jew in the Middle East.

The ongoing incursions begun in late March have destroyed Oslo once and for all, a key goal of Sharon and his predecessor/successor Netanyahu. They have returned to the notion of "autonomy" formulated by Sharon's mentor Menachem Begin, and for which the Civil Administration was established in 1981 and for which the war in Lebanon was fought in 1982. The Palestinians' choice, to put it starkly, is between incarceration and transfer.

Sharon's grand scheme (until such a time that transfer is made possible, i.e. when a Palestinian state emerges in Jordan) is today emerging "on the ground" as follows:

The West Bank will be divided into three or four separate cantons according to settlement blocs and Israeli highways already in place. A northern canton would be created around the city of Nablus, a central one around Ramallah and a southern one in the area of Hebron, with a possible separation of Qalkilya and Tul Karm from the rest. Each would be disconnected from the other and connected independently to Israel. A road or two might connect the different cantons, but checkpoints and cargo docks would ensure completely Israeli control. Each canton would be granted local autonomy under the supervision of the Civil Authority.

Since the international community would demand a sop (no more than that) to Palestinian self-determination, Gaza will become the Palestinian state, probably when Arafat leaves the scene and a more compliant leader can be found to sign off on such an arrangement. If Israel was hard-pressed to concede more, it could upgrade the status of the Palestinians in the West Bank from "residents of autonomous cantons" to Palestinian "citizens" without endangering its control.

Does Israel really believe this scenario is possible? That the Palestinians will submit to a truncated set of autonomous islands instead of a viable and truly sovereign state?

The answer is "yes." Given the state of international response for the foreseeable future, Israel sees little effective opposition to this arrangement provided that it can maintain a kind of "industrial quiet" that will allow the US, Europe and the Arab states to get on with their particular agendas. Besides some discordant noises coming from NGOs and some churches (as well as the Muslim community abroad, whose influence has been largely neutralized since 9-11), the international community has proven extremely compliant. Incarceration, and eventually transfer, seems eminently plausible to Sharon and his colleagues. Despite protestations by Sharon, the May 12th vote by acclamation of the Likud Central Committee against the establishment of any Palestinian state flowed logically and smoothly from "Operation Defensive Shield." ■

Jeff Halper is the Coordinator of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, and an anthropologist who teaches at Ben-Gurion University

Martyrs & heroes?

Some reflections on suicide bombing

Throughout history, people who have resisted occupation and oppression through extreme means were, and are, called heroes and martyrs

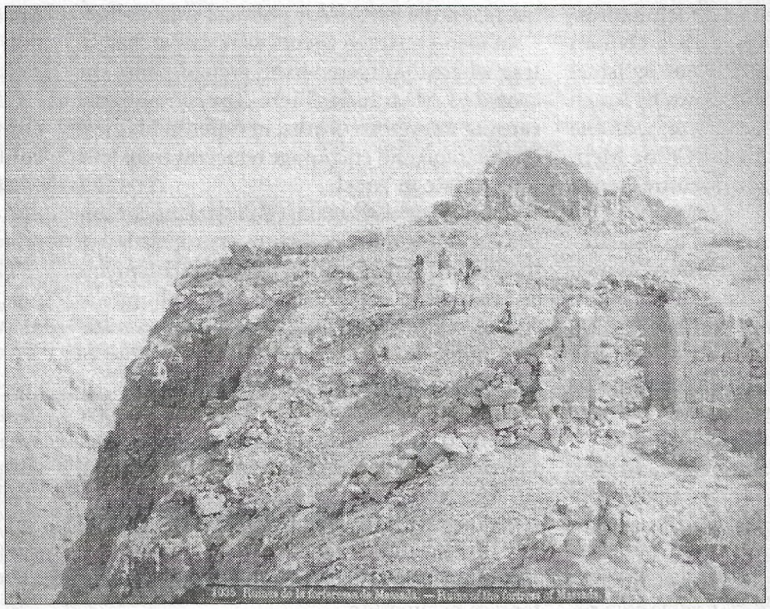
BY DR. MOHAMED ELMASRY
CIC FRIDAY BULLETIN, 10 MAY 2002

Suicide bombing was first practiced by Japanese kamikaze (meaning "divine wind") fighter plane pilots during World War II. Palestinians did not invent it.

In fact, they waited until 1995 – a full 28 years after Israel's illegal occupation of their land in 1967 – to use it as a means of armed resistance to end the occupation. Palestinians call suicide bombings *amaliyya istishhadiyya* (or "martyr operations") to give the actions a religious dimension. They consider the operatives, who pay with their lives as human bombs, heroes.

But the Palestinians are not unique in their methods. Throughout history, people who have resisted occupation and oppression through extreme means were, and are, called heroes and martyrs.

In his book The Jews and the Crusaders, Shlomo Eidelberg tells us that in 1096 CE, "the Jews who fought the Crusaders reflect the typical fate of the self-defender." In a desperate move to free his people from Christian mistreatment, a young Jewish man named *Simcha ha-Cohen* (a highly revered priestly name in Hebrew) "drew a knife and murdered the nephew of the local bishop." He too was labelled a terrorist by his oppressors, but a resistance hero by Rabbi Eliezer bar Nathan, one of the foremost Jewish chroniclers of the time. Like other Jewish historians, he considered all Jews who were killed while fighting the advancing Crusaders as martyrs for their faith.



▲ *A rare 19th century photograph of the ruins of the Masada Fortress, with some Bedouins; Roman armies attacked this landmark in 70 CE – Blatchford Collection, Digital Document Collection, History Department, American University of Beirut*

■ *Dr. Mohamed Elmasry is a professor at the University of Waterloo and national president of the Canadian Islamic Congress. His recent book, Spiritual Fitness For Life, is available on line from www.pandorapress.com*

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What else can Palestinians call those who choose to die for a free Palestine, except heroes and martyrs? And what else can Israelis call them, except terrorists, killers and murderers? Yet although such naming is important to both sides of the conflict in advancing their political agendas, it is hardly helpful to describe or change reality.

The Arab-Israeli war of 1973 is called by many in the West the October War. But it was given a religious dimension by both combattants: in Israel it is called the *Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement)* war, while in the Arab world it is called *harb ramadan,* the *War of Ramadan,* after the Islamic month in which it was launched.

But a larger reality now is the ongoing 34-year-old Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands in the West Bank and Gaza. It is a text-book occupation story, in which invading forces spread death, misery, and destruction, while the population under their power tries to resist.

The occupation forces use a greatly superior (and lethal) military machine, along with its propaganda, its political clout, and its economic power, to justify acts of terror and to pressure the subjected population to surrender their rights. This is called "terrorism from above." Its operatives are well-protected, flying thousands of feet above in F-16s, or concealed inside the cockpits of sophisticated killing machines like helicopter gunships and tanks.

As a result, the people under occupation strike back with any means available, against solders in uniform, solders on leave, and armed settlers. They consider any civilian casualties on either side to be the full responsibility of the occupying government, whose aggression is the cause root of violence.

During World War II, Hitler's armies occupied most of Europe, using sheer military might to spread Nazism. Resistance movements, armed not only with scavenged weapons, but also with courage, hope, persistence and ingenuity, opposed Hitler and were instrumental in preparing the way for Allied forces to defeat the Third Reich. To accomplish this, resistance fighters – men, women, children, even the elderly – often had to resort to what we today would call terrorist acts in the absence of any other alternatives to regaining their peoples' freedom.

When German occupation forces retaliated by wiping out local resistance cells, they killed many innocent men, women and children, even destroying entire villages. Yet military reprisals did not crush that desire for freedom; resistance members were regarded as underground heroes.

Despite their own historical experience of being oppressed, Israel's leaders still seem not to have grasped that their 34-year occupation of Palestinian territories and the crude "finders-keepers" method of planting armed settlements on them, is wholly responsible for creating and sustaining the environment of terror in which several generations of young

Palestinian have grown up.

Born as children of war, and now in their late teens, twenties and thirties, they exist as hopeless and helpless adults with no prospects of contributing to normal society. Many young Palestinians, like their peers anywhere in the world, yearn for meaning in life: if given the choice between death, and merely existing as virtual prisoners under armed occupation, death is often seen as the better alternative.

Military might cannot prevent resistance movements from arising among occupied peoples, nor can soldiers stamp them out unless virtually everyone dies in the process, as happened to the Jewish defenders of Masada when Roman armies attacked this landmark fortress in 70 CE.

History has shown over and over again that increasing the combat level of occupation only raises the resistance level. It is almost a scientific formula by now. The unwanted result for today's Israel is that all who die in the struggle for a free Palestine have become martyrs; and all who continue on in the face of death are hailed as freedom-fighters and heroes. It does not matter that their oppressors label them as killers or terrorists. It is another text book case, like the Irish resisting the British, the Algerians resisting the French, the French resisting the Germans, etc.

Yasser Arafat is the elected and internationally acknowledged leader of the Palestinian people in their struggle for a free and independent nation. To them and their freedom-supporters worldwide, he is a hero while alive (whether at large, imprisoned, or exiled) and – should the Israelis be obscenely foolish enough to allow or orchestrate his death – a martyr.

Thus, Israel's leaders have lost their moral credibility, despite retaining unbelievably strong American economic, political and military support.

This is a many-layered tragedy for Jews and Palestinians, for on the bottom line, both continue to pay the lessons of history with their own people's lives.

But this occupation will end – it is a matter of when, not if. History is on the side of the Palestinians and the illegal occupiers of their land will end up like numerous oppressors before them. ■

Cowards and heroes FACE TO FACE

BY SANDRA L. SMITH, TML DAILY, APRIL 2, 2002

KHALED ZIGHARI

▲ *Courageous Palestinian confronts Israeli police*

THIS DEFINING MOMENT OF HISTORY IS BRINGING OUT THE very worst and the very best which human civilization has given rise to: cowards and heroes face to face. The cowards are desperate, committing crimes against humanity which are made all the more heinous by attempts to justify them in the name of high ideals. The heroes emerge all the more resplendent as they inspire the downtrodden and oppressed and all peace- and justice-loving forces the world over to march on by taking the high road of civilization. The cowards are desperate forces who believe that holding a gun to Arafat's head will make him raise the white flag of surrender and that by so doing the entire Palestinian people will surrender. The actions of the war criminal Ariel Sharon and his US backers show that they think that everyone is cowardly like they are. But Arafat represents a martyred people who have shown time and time and time again that it is a peace of the brave which is the call of the martyrs.

Cowards and heroes face to face.This is not a time for the faint-hearted. It has never been clearer that only on the basis of the fundamental principles which humankind holds dear can a road to progress be opened in these dark times.

The heroic resistance of the Palestinian people and the response of their leadership to the latest cowardly action by Ariel Sharon with US backing has once again thrown the gauntlet to Arab leaders, to the European Union, China, Russia and all others in whose power it is to put a spoke in the wheels of the US drive to plunge the world into the abyss of darkness. What will Arab leaders do now to defend their peace initiative and to defend the Palestinian people including their President? Will the leaders of the EU, China and Russia permit the legitimate authority of a people to be treated like a criminal? What will be their fate if they permit such things?

Canada prides itself on providing the world with peacekeepers at the time of the Suez crisis in 1956 thereby providing the mechanism which ushered in the post-war arrangements which established that all nations, big or small, are equal. It put a spoke in the wheels of Britain and France which used Israel in their bid to stop Egypt from exercising its right to self-determination. The introduction of peacekeepers at that time contributed to making the UN Charter effective. Now, all over again, a concrete measure is needed to defend the UN Charter. But today Canada is paralyzed. It kowtows to the Zionist lobby, submits to the US dictate and is caught in its own veneer of high ideals.

Cowards and heroes face to face. The heroes are the peoples and those who take a courageous stand at decisive moments. Today the onus is on the peoples to force Israel to withdraw from all occupied territories and to end the occupation. Those who seek to put the onus for the violence on the Palestinian martyrs have no sense of shame. No matter how genuine their tears for the tragic loss of both Palestinian and Israel lives, no matter what their angst over the tragic cycle of violence we are witnessing today, only a resolute principled stand will open a path for progress in the Middle East peace talks. Who will rise to the occasion?

Cowards and heroes face to face. The time to take a stand is now! Demand an immediate end to the occupation! Isolate the Sharon and US cowards who are committing crimes against humanity and those who conciliate with them by providing them with the veneer of high ideals. Take up the call of the Palestinian martyrs! End the occupation now! ■

Sandra Smith is national leader of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), whose website is cpcml.ca Her recent book, On The U.S. Election 2000 and US War on Terrorism, and four other books on rights, are available from the National Publications Centre, Box 313, Station A, Ottawa, K1N 8V3.

Canada Park: Canadian complicity in a war crime

"Here is our house," says Ibrahim Elsheikh, the 75-year-old *mukhtar* (village headman) of Imwas (Emmaus), pointing to the rubble of his home which stood there until June 1967, when Israel invaded and occupied Sinai, the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights.

BY DR. ISMAIL ZAYID
OUTLOOK (CANADIAN JEWISH OUTLOOK SOCIETY) SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 2001

Thousands of villagers, from Imwas, Yalu and Beit Nuba – my own hometown – still cry remembering their homes that stood there until Israel erased them from the face of The Holy Land, when they were systematically dynamited and bulldozed. In Beit Nuba alone, eighteen old or disabled men, who were unable or unwilling to leave their homes instantly, were buried under the rubble. No fighting took place in these villages when they were occupied in the early hours of June 6, 1967.

The three villages were once part of what was called the Latrun salient. Over 10,000 people lived there; they had schools, mosques, agricultural land and many centuries of history. It was in Imwas (Emmaus) where Christians believe that Jesus Christ first appeared after the Crucifixion.

The destruction of these villages was witnessed and described by the Israeli journalist Amos Kenan, a reserve soldier in the occupying force in Beit Nuba. He gave this account to the Israeli newspaper *Ha'Olam Hazeh*, which was prohibited by the censor from publishing it. It was sent to all members of the Knesset, and to the Prime Minister and Defence minister, but no response was received.

The unit commander told us that it had been decided to blow up three villages in our sector; they were Beit Nuba, Imwas and Yalu ... We were told to block the entrances of the villages and prevent inhabitants [from] returning ... The order was to shoot over their heads and tell them not to enter the village.

Beit Nuba is built of fine quarry stones; some of the houses are magnificent. Every house is surrounded by an orchard, olive trees, apricots, vines and presses. They are well kept. Among the trees, there are carefully tended vegetable beds.

At noon the first bulldozer arrived and pulled down the first house at the edge of the village. Within ten minutes the house was turned into rubble. The olive trees and cypresses were all uprooted. After the destruction of three houses, the first refugee column arrived from the direction of Ramallah. We did not fire in the air. There were old people who could hardly walk, murmuring old women, mothers carrying babies, small children. The children wept and asked for water. They all carried white flags.

We told them to go to Beit Sira. They told us they had been driven out. They had been wandering like this for four days, without food, some dying on the road.

They asked to return to their village ... Some had a goat, a lamb, a donkey or a camel. A father ground wheat by hand to feed his four children ... The children cried.

▲ A war crime in progress; ethnic cleansing of Imwas. Israeli soldiers (background) wear masks to avoid detection – June 7, 1967

▲ APC prevents residents from returning. Based on eyewitness account, 12-15 villagers went back to their villages soon after occupation. They are still unaccounted for.

▲ "Within ten minutes the house was turned into rubble". Removing the evidence, and obliterating the Palestinian reality. Pictures taken by Joseph Onan, an Israeli soldier living near Imwas.

WWW.PALESTINEREMEMBERED.COM

Some of our soldiers started crying too. We went to fetch the Arabs some water. We stopped a car with a major, two captains and a woman ... We asked the officers why these refugees were sent from one place to another and driven out of everywhere. They told us that this was good for them, they should go. 'Moreover', said the officers, 'what do we care about the Arabs anyway?'

We drove them out. They go on wandering like lost cattle. The weak die. Our unit was outraged. The refugees gnashed their teeth when they saw the bulldozers pull down the trees. None of us understood how Jews could behave like this. No one understood why these *fellaheen* [villagers] **shouldn't be allowed to take blankets and some food.**

The chickens and doves were buried in the rubble. The fields were turned into wasteland in front of our eyes. The children who went crying on the road will be *fedayeen* [freedom fighters—IZ] in nineteen years, in the next round. Thus we have lost the victory. (From *Israel Imperial News,* March 1968)

Uri Avneri, then a Knesset member, described the destruction of these villages as a definite war crime. This was carried out on the direct orders of Yitzhak Rabin, then Chief of Staff of Israel's armed forces. These acts are in direct violation of The Fourth Geneva Convention, 1949, to which Israel is a signatory. Article 53 of the convention states:

> **Any destruction by the Occupying Power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the state, or to other public authorities or social or cooperative organizations is prohibited.**

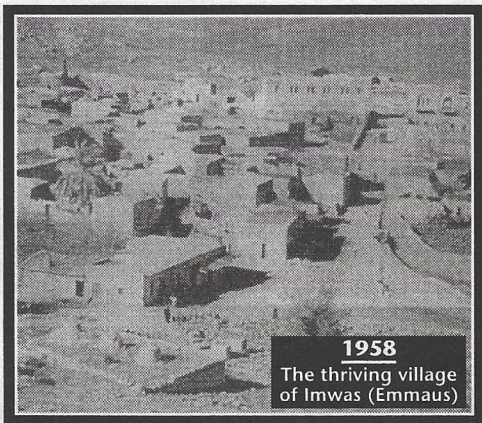
It is now difficult to spot the ruins and the rubble.

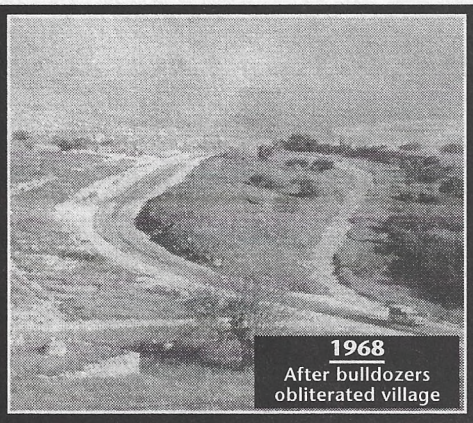
Today there stands on the spot the infamy called "Canada Park", with picnic areas for Israelis, built with Canadian tax-deductible dollars provided by the Canadian Jewish National Fund (JNF).

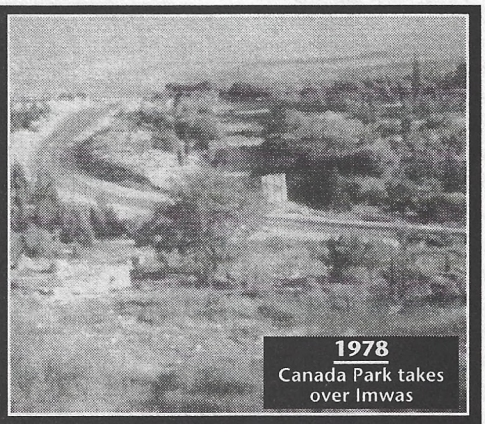
In 1973 Bernard Bloomfield of Montreal, then President of the JNF of Canada, spearheaded a campaign among the Canadian Jewish community to raise $15 million to establish Canada Park, so as to provide a picnic area accessible to Israelis from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

At the entrance of Canada Park, just off John Diefenbaker Parkway (opened by Diefenbaker himself in 1975), is a sign that reads: "Welcome to Canada Park in Ayalon Valley – a project of the Jewish National Fund of Canada." The JNF, responsible for the upkeep of the park, has removed all signs of the villages and their inhabitants from the area. It would seem that only the Canadian donors are worthy of being remembered; their names are engraved in the bronze plaques which cover an entire wall. Interestingly, these donors are not directly informed that the park is built on the site of the demolished villages. The Director of the American JNF stated that, "It is a delicate situation, and one cannot expect an institution [such as the Canadian JNF] which gathers money from abroad, to publicise the issue [of the demolition of these villages]." (Ehud Meltz and Michal Selah, "Canada Park: A Case Study," *Kol Hair,* August 31, 1984)

The glossy guidebook, published by the JNF







These photographs were taken from approximately the same site over a 20-year period by Pierre Medebielle

of Canada, has an entire page devoted to the history of the area, including the biblical, Roman, Crusader and British periods, but has no mention of these villages or their destruction. Another step in the obliteration of the villages from memory can be seen in their absence from Israeli maps.

As a new Canadian, my personal pain was compounded when I read on December 4, 1978, in our local newspaper, *The Halifax Herald*, that Peter Herschorn, a prominent Halifax businessman and past chairman of the Atlantic branch of the JNF, was honoured by it for his humanitarian work and "choosing the right goodness" in his participation in the building of Canada Park. The Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, the Premier of Nova Scotia and the Mayor of Halifax were in attendance and offered their greetings.

▲ *Wealthy Toronto family nets "charitable" tax writeoff from war crime*

I was mortified that political leaders in my new country, Canada, would consider the erection of recreation centres on the site of ruins of criminally-demolished peaceful villages, illegally occupied, as a humanitarian act. Canada continuously brags about its reputation for upholding the UN Charter, international law and human rights, yet allows its taxpayers' dollars to sponsor such a war crime. Over many years, I have written repeatedly – supported by some honourable politicians like Senator Heath Macquarrie and R.A. Corbett, MP – to successive Revenue Canada Ministers, expressing concern about this, and receiving only vague, unhelpful answers.

Father Louis, who worked at the Latrun Franciscan Monastery for 40 years, said, "Every time I go by Canada Park, I still get angry. Why does the Canadian government allow it to be called Canada Park? It is built on the ruins of people's homes."

Every Canadian should be asking: why should our country's name be associated with this infamy? ■

Profits from the Promised Land

BY TONY SEED
SHUNPIKING, DECEMBER, 1998

With the help of Ontario premier Mike Harris, a Canadian multinational toll highway company took its road show to Israel in October (1998), predicting profits in the Promised Land. But Israeli environmentalists told them to take the road home.

Canadian Highways International Corp (CHIC) built the Confederation Bridge to Prince Edward Island, the toll Cobequid Bypass in Nova Scotia – part of the Trans Canada Highway – and Ontario's new toll Highway 407. It is also bidding to convert Toronto's Gardiner Expressway into an underground toll highway.

Now it is building toll roads abroad, patterned on Canadian toll highways and subsidised by our tax-dollars – such as the Cross-Israel Highway known as Route 6. The Israeli government will guarantee up to 80% of any losses the international consortium incurs on the project, estimated to cost US$3bn. Construction is scheduled to start in 1999.

The Israeli toll road sparked protest from an environmental coalition outside the Jerusalem hotel of Harris and CHIC president John Beck. The group carried placards reading: "Canada is ruining our biblical homeland!" and "Canada! Don't let Highway 6 ruin our green heritage".

According to a communique distributed by the Committee for Public Transportation: "The Canadian contractor, CHIC from Ontario, will benefit from forced land expropriation at below-market prices from both Jewish and Arab farmers, and from land takeovers."

Organiser Henry Gold, a Canadian immigrant to Israel, lashed out at the "asphalt Zionism" that will be the highway's hallmark.

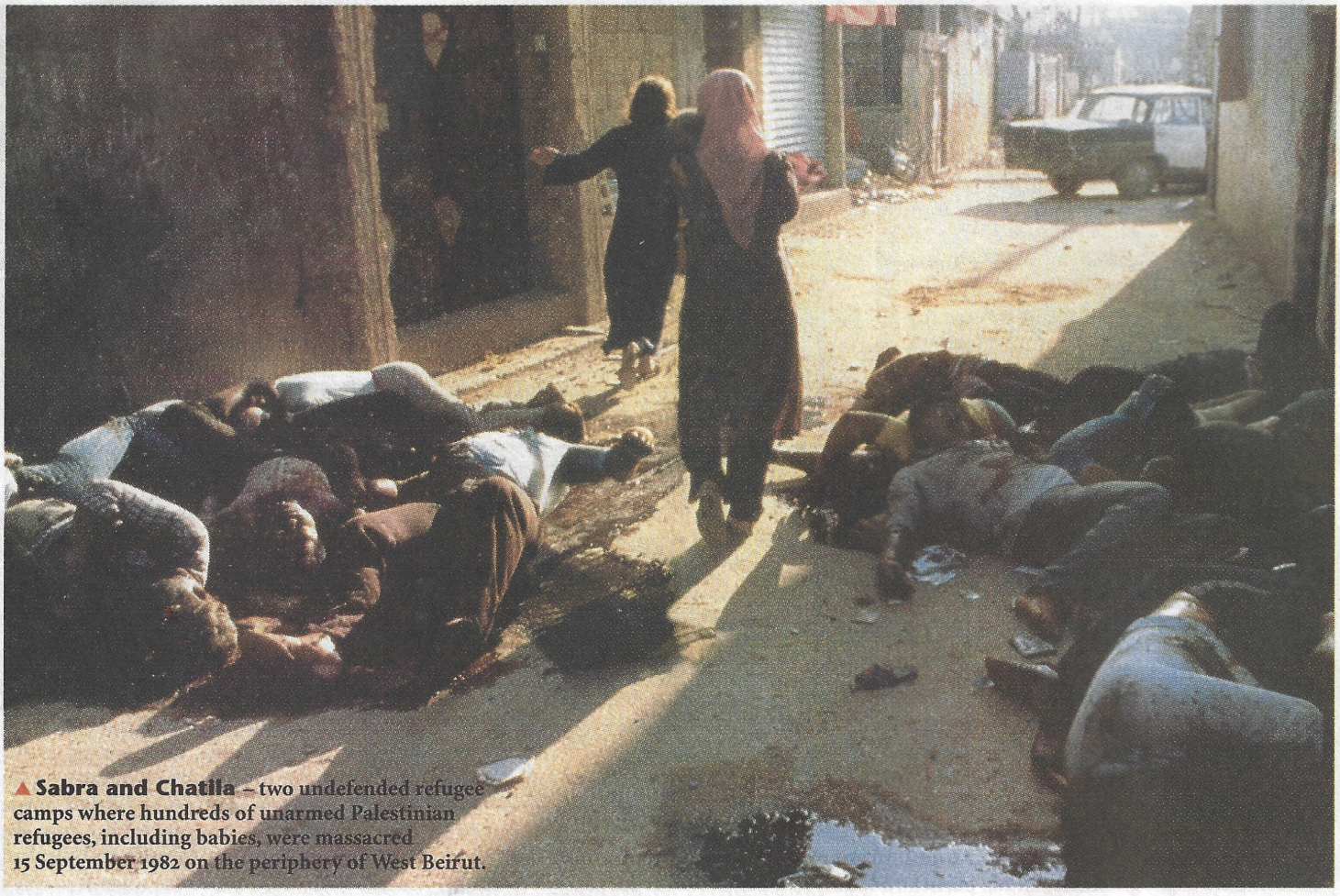
Staff Postscript 2002. Route 6 links a network of connector roads **for Jews only** among settlements throughout the occupied West Bank. Such settlements are illegal and, according to the Fourth Geneva Convention, **constitute war crimes** under international law. **Access to these roads is restricted to persons with a specially-designated licence plate which Palestinians are not allowed to obtain. License plates are colour coded to distinguish Jews from non-Jews.**

US financial conglomerate CIT Group acquired Newcourt, a principal partner in CHIC , in 1999 , thereby also gaining control of part of the Trans Canada Hwy. Newcourt arranged the international financing for the Cross Israel Highway, thus reaping another level of profit.

Members of the CHIC consortia donated $387,531 in 1995-97 election funds to the Harris Conservative government, according to a study by Robert MacDermid, York University. CHIC was the 5th largest corporate donor to the NDP; the Bob Rae government originally commissioned the first toll Highway 407.

CANADIAN JEWISH NEWS

◄ *A 1998 protest in Toronto against the Israeli highway*



▲ **Sabra and Chatila** – two undefended refugee camps where hundreds of unarmed Palestinian refugees, including babies, were massacred 15 September 1982 on the periphery of West Beirut.

FRANK SPOONER PICTURES, LONDON

Sabra & Shatila –

The world watched in horror as the story of the inhuman massacres in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in Lebanon first emerged in September, 1982 ■ An entire generation of the Palestinian people has grown up in their shadow ■ The general at the centre of this butchery is today the prime minister of Israel – Ariel Sharon ■ The scale of the infamy has changed, but not the methods, the perpetrators or their allies ■ The past is always present

BY PIERRE PÉAN*

LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, SEPTEMBER 2002

TWENTY years have passed, but re-read the accounts or speak to survivors in what remains of the Sabra and Shatila camps, and the words still drip red. Time has not washed away the blood. All through my investigation I was horrified as I listened to story after story about children with their throats slit, or pregnant women with their bellies slashed open, or heads and limbs hacked off. I felt physically sick.

I did not approach what remains of the Sabra and Shatila camps through the main entrance but via a dirty district on the periphery, home to new, mostly Asian, arrivals. I entered the main street that once linked Gaza hospital, which no longer exists, to the main entrance near the Kuwaiti embassy. The embassy stands out, incongruously luxurious, as is the nearby sports centre where Palestinian and Lebanese adults who escaped the massacre were questioned.

People now made their way to the camp between shops and stalls selling fruit, CDs, new and second-hand goods, cars, scooters.

How do you select between direct and indirect witnesses to the massacres? Their voices subdued, they brought alive the scenes of September 1982.

Um Shawki, 52, lost 17 members of her family, including a 12-year-old son and her husband. She lived in the Bir Hassan district near the Kuwaiti embassy. After 1982, she moved with her 12 surviving children to the main street in Shatila and lives on the fourth floor of a poorly constructed building. Her apartment is clean; artificial flowers complement its soft furnishings and pictures are stuck or nailed to the walls, of Al Quds (Jerusalem) and the Hamas flag. She does not belong to Hamas: "I don't belong to any organisation. I would only join when I was sure of the outcome." And her children? "I don't want them to sacrifice themselves for anything, but on the day I am certain of getting my revenge, I'll encourage them and be at their side."

Day and night she revisits the memories of the corpses, the mutilated bodies, the husband and son she never saw again, and whose fate she never knew. The colours of her room do not brighten her sombre dress and eyes. She is unsmiling. She becomes angry, though she

never again

does not raise her voice, as she relives her family's second tragedy, the first being their departure in 1948 from Tarisha, a village near Haifa. "Someone knocked at the door and said: 'We are Lebanese, we have come to search for weapons'. My husband opened the door. He was not worried because he didn't belong to any fighting group. He worked at the golf club, near the airport."

She spoke of three Israeli soldiers and a soldier from the Lebanese Forces, the rightwing Christian militia. They entered the house, took her daughter's bracelets, tore out her own earrings – one of her earlobes is still torn – and beat them.

Those soldiers came from Israel

They didn't wear the same uniforms as the Lebanese Forces and didn't speak Arabic. I don't know whether they were speaking Hebrew, but I am sure they were Israelis."

That is not impossible. The Bir Hassan district, outside the camp perimeter, was occupied by the Israelis. Like other Palestinian families, Um Shawki's family was taken inside the camps. "We were put in a lorry that took us to the entrance to the Shatila camp. The soldiers separated the men from the women and children. The Lebanese took the papers from three cousins and then shot them before our eyes. My husband, my son and other cousins were taken away by the Israelis." The women and children went on foot to the sports centre. By the roadside, women were crying and weeping, claiming that all the men had been killed. During the evening, in the chaos, Um Shawki and her children fled to the Al Helou barracks district.

At first light, she left her children in a school and went to find out what had happened to her husband and son. She was not able to speak to any of the Israeli officers present. She heard orders being given in Arabic for the men to have their identity cards stamped.

She saw an Israeli lorry full of adults and youngsters. A woman in tears, who had lost her whole family, showed her where the corpses had been dumped. The two women went to the Orsal district and climbed over Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian dead. Um Shawki says that she saw hundreds of the dead. Most of the victims were in the Orsal district.

"They were unrecognisable, their faces deformed and swollen. I saw 28 corpses of members of the same Lebanese family, including two disembowelled women. I tried to spot the clothing of my son and husband. I searched all day and went back the next day. I didn't recognise the body of anyone from Bir Hassan." Um Shawki saw Lebanese soldiers dig ditches to bury the dead. She never found her husband and son.

She finds it even harder to talk about her daughter, who was raped. "I think about that day and night. I have brought up my children alone. I had to beg. I shall never forget. I want revenge for that. My heart is as black as my dress. I shall tell my children and my children's children what I saw."

'The end of the target zone'

I walked through a maze of little alleys, with electric flex hanging everywhere and water running on the ground. Finally I came to a building with three or four offices. In one, at the back, Siham Balkis, president of the returnees' association, was sitting straight behind a small desk. Also seated in the office were a Palestinian official and two other survivors. Balkis is about 40. She is a committed and determined militant. Her family came from Kabe, near Acre, in Israel.

She said, evenly: "The massacre began on Thursday evening at about 5:30pm. We could not believe it. We stayed inside the house until Saturday morning and were not aware of much except that on Thursday and Friday a small group of Palestinians and Lebanese had tried to defend themselves, but they were too few in number and did not have enough ammunition. During the night, we saw rocket fire light up the sky and heard shots. We thought it was the Israelis after the fighters and in search of arms. On Saturday morning, when it was calm again, we went out on the balcony and saw a group of Lebanese Forces accompanied by an Israeli officer. The Lebanese told us to come out. As we did, they shouted insults at us. The Israeli had a walkie-talkie. One of the Lebanese took it from him and said: 'We have reached the end of the target zone'."

Siham is sure he was an Israeli because he was wearing a badge with Hebrew writing and did not look like an Arab. He spoke French with the Lebanese.

Along with others, Siham was taken to Gaza hospital. The soldiers escorting them gathered together the foreign doctors and the people who had taken shelter around the hospital.

"They killed about a dozen fighters. Among the doctors and nurses, they spotted a young Palestinian who had put on a white coat, and they killed him. When everyone had been assembled – hundreds of people – we set out towards the Kuwaiti embassy. The streets were littered with corpses. Young women with their wrists tied together. Houses destroyed. Tanks, probably Israeli. The remains of a baby crushed in the tracks of one of them. Before we reached the sports centre, the men were separated. Soldiers told the young men to crawl. Those who crawled well were considered to be fighters and killed by the Lebanese ▶

▲ *Christophe Goussard photographed this memorial in the camps in 2002*

Birth of a massacre

Feb, 1982: Israel's Major General Yehoshua Saguym, Chief of Intelligence, meets with Pentagon officials and Secretary of Defense Haig to outline plans for a major invasion of Lebanon. Israel takes delivery of $217,695,000 worth of US arms. The media prepares for the invasion by "revealing" the PLO was receiving Soviet rockets supposedly to threaten Israel. (Israel's casualties from cross border shelling by the PLO from 1967–June 1982, totalled, according to army statistics, 106.)

6 Jun: Israeli minister of defence, Ariel Sharon, launches the operation 'Peace in Galillee' – the air, land and sea invasion of Lebanon.

Declaring Lebanon a "geographical expression", Israel occupies one-third of a sovereign country and bombs Beirut, which has no military significance. Tens of thousands are killed and wounded, at least 80% of them innocent civilians; cluster and phosphorus bombs rain down on schools, orphanages and hospitals over three months. This drives 500,000 from their homes. The *USS New Jersey* shells towns from offshore. The skill of the Palestinian defence, who fight street by street for some 60 plus days, forestalls capture of Beirut. There are 500 Israeli casualties – a disaster in their terms.

20 Aug: Following a new agreement between Reagan and Begin, the PLO agrees to US terms. The next day the first contingent of a 'multinational' force, composed of US Marines from the 6th Fleet, Italians and the French, arrives.

30 Aug: Arafat and 5,000 PLO fighters are forced to emigrate to Tunis, leaving Beirut defenceless.

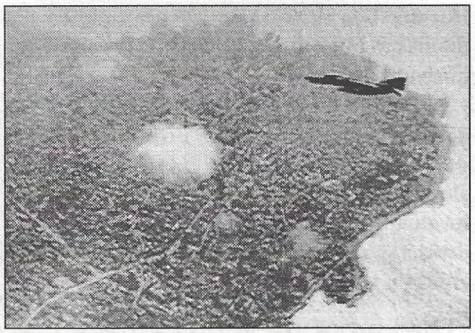
10 Sep: US Marines and multinational force departs Beirut ten days earlier than agreed.

14 Sep: President Bashir Gemayel killed.

15 Sep: Israeli troops occupy West Beirut.

15-18 Sep: massacres in Sabra and Chatila Palestinian camps in West Beirut.

Palestinian resistance to Israel's 1982 invasion



▲ *Israeli Defence Forces smash through UN refugee camp near Beirut (left) while US Phantom jet (right) bombs Beirut, the capital, 1982.* USS New Jersey, *sitting offshore, also shelled Lebanese towns and cities. The invasion was in breach of international law, as stated in UN Security Council Resolution 338. The massacre at Sabra and Shatila has been described as an act of genocide in resolutions of the UN General Assembly and UN Commission of Human Rights (E/CN.4/RES/1985/4, UNCHR, 26 February 1985), the latter imputing responsibility directly with Israel). 'Genocide' includes an intent to destroy in whole or part a national ethnic, racial or religious group.*

Forces. They kicked the others.

"I saw Saad Haddad[1] with others in front of the Kuwaiti embassy. Then, when we got to the sports centre, lots of Israeli soldiers. An Israeli colonel said the women and children could go home. Later I saw my brother climb into a jeep, while others were put on lorries. I ran towards him, but to no avail. I heard an officer say in Arabic: 'We are going to hand you over to the Lebanese Forces. They'll be better at making you talk'."

All the witnesses tell more or less the same story. Kemla Mhanna, a Lebanese woman who runs a grocery in the Orsal district said: "All those in our district who stayed were killed. Most of them were Lebanese. When I came back, I saw a pile of corpses. Next to my house, a Palestinian was hanging from a meat hook, split in two like a sheep's carcass. I saw that a first layer of bodies had been thrown into a big ditch, then a layer of sand, then another layer of bodies. I also saw another Lebanese man from Orsal district, Hamad Shamas, one of the few survivors of the massacre there. He was in a shelter when two Israelis came along in a jeep with seven or eight soldiers.

"I am positive the soldiers were Israelis because they wore Israeli uniforms and did not speak Arabic properly. The soldiers told us to get out of the shelter and abused us. They told me to put down the child I was carrying and stand in line with the others. One who spoke good Arabic searched everyone and took one man's money; then they shot at us. I was only wounded in the head and thigh, under a pile of bodies. There were 23 dead. I stayed in a shelter all night. At dawn, the smell of death was all around."

The same story

There is nothing new in these accounts. They are like those that Leila Shahid, the Palestinian representative to France and one of the first to enter the camps after the massacres, collected alone, or with Jean Genet. Within memory, they also tally with the accounts of the English, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, German, Irish and American members of the medical team at Gaza hospital, and those recorded by many journalists.

Elias Khoury, a Lebanese writer and dramatist[2], argues passionately that it is impossible for the Palestinian people to turn the past, and the Sabra and Shatila massacres, into a memory. "The normal process of memory does not work with the Palestinians because the massacres continue: Deir Yassine, Qibya, Sabra and Shatila and now Jenin. They cannot look to the past because the past is still the present. Since 1948 they have been caught in a cycle of hell. **The Palestinians are the victims of the Israeli government's policy of orchestrated Shoah.** Ethical standards stop at Israel's frontiers. In those circumstances, the idea of the tragedy of Sabra and Shatila becomes marginalised."

So marginalised that, in Lebanon, the issue is taboo. First to be accused was Elie Hobeika[3], who had been a government minister. "The criminals seized power after the war," said Khoury. "The Palestinians have become the scapegoats for the war in Lebanon and are subject here to laws no better than the Vichy government applied to the Jews."

Even the numbers of dead and disappeared remain vague. Estimates range from 500 to 5,000. Bayan Hout has been trying to fill the gap for 20 years. She is Lebanese, born in Jerusalem where she lived until she was nine; she is a historian and lecturer at the University of Beirut. She has closely questioned the families of the victims and the disappeared, analysed hundreds of questionnaires, crosschecked lists of humanitarian organisations and the Red Cross, and tried to locate all the cemeteries. She is now sure of her figures: 906 dead of 12 nationalities, half of them Palestinians, and 484 disappeared, 100 of them abducted. That makes 1,490 identified victims.

The massacres and disappearances were part of the war the Israeli government launched on 6 June 1982 to neutralise the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). The invasion of Lebanon left more than 12,000 civilians dead, 30,000 wounded and 200,000 homeless.

In mid-June the Israelis began the siege of Beirut and surrounded 15,000 PLO fighters and their Lebanese and Syrian allies. In July US President Ronald Reagan sent Philip Habib, assisted by Morris Draper, to defuse the situation which threatened to ignite the Middle East and damage US interests. It became apparent that the way to resolve the crisis was to get the Palestinian fighters and Yasser Arafat to leave Beirut. Arafat was persuaded that there was no other solution.

The discussions were complicated because the Israelis and Americans did not want to hold direct talks with the Palestinians[4]: Elias Sarkis, Lebanon's Christian president, and his Sunni prime minister, Shafiq Wazzan, were to act as intermediaries. The Israelis were set on brutal military oppression and on obtaining the total and ignominious surrender of Arafat. Arafat made further concessions and tried to obtain guarantees of safety for Palestinian families remaining in Lebanon. He feared violence from Israeli soldiers and their Phalangist allies. As far as Arafat was concerned, the guarantees had to be given by the Americans and the international community.

Habib finally obtained an assurance from the Israeli prime minister that his soldiers would not enter West Beirut or attack the Palestinians in the camps; an assurance from Lebanon's future prime minister, Bashir Gemayel, that the Phalangists would not move; and an assurance from the Pentagon that US Marines would be the ultimate guarantors of those commitments. On the strength of those promises, Habib gave a written undertaking on civilian safety. Two letters were addressed to the Lebanese prime minister. The US undertaking was contained in the fourth clause of the agreement on the PLO's departure, published by the US, the day before the first Palestinian fighters left.[5]

But Arafat was increasingly worried about the fate of the Palestinian civilians. Habib again approached Gemayel, who renewed his promise.[6] He stressed the role of the multinational force of 800 French, 500 Italians and 800 Americans. The first (French) contingent arrived to supervise the evacuation and collection of weapons. The force was to remain for about 30 days, prevent any untoward action and protect Palestinian families. Finally Arafat agreed to leave Beirut.

No one kept their word

But no one kept their word. Starting with the US. Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger, who ordered the Marines to leave Lebanon even as the Christian militiamen were taking up positions in the Bir Hassan district around the Sabra and Shatila camps. **The American departure triggered the departure of the French and Italians.** On 10 September the last soldier left Beirut, but the Habib plan had been based on evacuation between 21 and 26 September. When Bashir Gemayel, now Lebanese president, brought to power by the

▲ *The new generation in Sabra and Shatila. Christophe Goussard, 2002*

▲ *Demonstration in Ottawa on the 20th anniversary*

Israelis, was assassinated, Sharon used this as a pretext to invade West Beirut, surround the Sabra and Shatila camps and encourage the Lebanese militia to a cleansing operation.

To this day, there has been only one official enquiry, that of the Israeli Commission chaired by Yitzhak Kahan, president of the Supreme Court, published in 1983. It points the finger at the Phalangists and, to a lesser degree, Ariel Sharon. The report first speaks of a grave mistake by Sharon, who failed to exercise supervision and prevent the massacres. It describes it as "puzzling" that Sharon did not in any way make Menachem Begin "privy to the decision to have the Phalangists enter the camps". It concludes that "responsibility has to be imputed to him for not ordering appropriate measures for preventing or remedying the danger of massacres". Sharon, it said, bore "personal responsibility" and must draw the personal conclusions.

Israeli newspapers have published a number of articles confirming and reinforcing those conclusions, in particular in 1994. Relying on official documents, Amir Oren wrote in *Davar* in July 1994 that **the massacres were part of a plan decided upon between Sharon and Gemayel. They used the Israeli secret services, headed by Abraham Shalom, who was ordered to exterminate all terrorists.** The Lebanese militiamen were simply agents in the chain of command that led, via the secret services, to the Israeli authorities.

The BBC's Panorama programme, *The Accused*, broadcast in June 2001, further illuminated the events, particularly the evidence of Morris Draper, Habib's assistant, which is hardly open to challenge. Reminded of Sharon's claims that he could not predict what was to happen in the camps, Draper commented "compete and utter nonsense". He told of a meeting at the defence ministry in Tel Aviv with Sharon and Arnos Yaron, his chief of staff, on the day when the Israelis had already entered West Beirut, despite their undertaking. Yaron justified that decision, citing the desire to prevent the Phalangists from turning on the Palestinians after the assassination of Gemayel.

Draper said: "The whole group of maybe 20 of us altogether fell silent. It was a dramatic moment." He explained that the US had rejected the Israeli proposal to deploy the Phalangists in West Beirut "because we knew it would be a massacre". He added: "There is no doubt whatsoever that Ariel Sharon was responsible. Well, more Israelis have to share in that responsibility."

The former diplomat was not questioned about US responsibility or that of France and Italy, both of which withdrew troops once the Marines left.

The families of the victims and the disappeared are entitled to the truth, to allow them to complete mourning. And the whole world is entitled to know who organised and perpetrated these acts, and how, and why. ■

* *Author of Dernières volontés, derniers combats, dernières souffrances (Plon, 2002) and Manipulations africaines (Plon, 2001).*

1 Commander, South Lebanon Army who worked with the Israelis.

2 See, especially, Les Portes du Soleil, *Le Monde diplomatique* and Actes Sud, which describes 50 years of the Palestinian tragedy. Khoury's play *Les mémoires de Job* was well received in Paris.

3 See below. According to prosecuting counsel, Shibli Mallat, it was not Hobeika's revelations that posed a threat to Sharon but his mere presence in Brussels. Once he was before the tribunal and inevitably charged, jurisdiction would cease to be an issue.

4 Direct, albeit discreet, talks had been taking place for years in Beirut between the Palestinian leadership and the US embassy as well as the CIA. In 1979, Arafat secured the release of 13 American hostages in Teheran.

5 In American Foreign Policy, Current Documents, State Department, Washington, 1982: "... law-abiding Palestinian noncombatants left behind in Beirut, including families of those who have departed, will be subject to Lebanese laws and regulations. The Governments of Lebanon and the United States will provide appropriate guarantees of safety in the following ways ... The United States will provide its guarantees on the basis of the assurances received from Lebanese groups with which it has been in touch."

6 For the history of the negotiations conducted by Philip Habib, see John Boykin, Cursed is the Peacemaker, with a preface by George Schultz, then US Secretary of State, Applegate Press, Washington, 2002, and The Multinational Force in Beirut 1982-1984, edited by Anthony McDermott and Kjell Skjelsbaek, Florida International University, Miami, 1991.

Dirty work in secret

Israeli governments have always disclaimed direct involvement of their armed forces in this slaughter, but recent basic forensic detective work may have caught them in a lie.

According to Alain Menargues, Beirut correspondent for Radio France 1982-95, an Israeli hit squad named "Sayerret Matkal" secretly penetrated Sabra and Chatila refugee camps on the morning of 15 September 1982 – before the entry of the Phalangist gangs – to execute 120 "Palestinian activists" from a list that included their names and addresses.

The victims were executed with a bullet to the nape of the neck, in the same fashion as 63 others murdered earlier by this unit throughout the Occupied Territories. The latter were "lawyers, doctors, teachers and even nurses... who had believed their status as non-combatants placed them above the battle." The strategy of Israeli Defence Minister Sharon was to send in this squad to "dismantle Palestinian infrastructure" – credible witnesses, life-saving personnel etc. – in advance of, and in order to facilitate, subsequent mass slaughters by a later wave, comprising the forces of the "South Lebanese Army" (SLA).

Although Israel's official Kahan Commission, which assigned Ariel Sharon "indirect" responsibility while exonerating the Begin cabinet, acknowledged coroners' autopsy findings of two different calibres of bullets corresponding to Phalangist and SLA weaponry, Menargues unraveled his new disclosures by following up the discovery of a third calibre of bullet, unique to Israeli special forces and ignored by the Commission.

His book is due to be published in Paris by Albin Michel in December 2002.

2nd International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People

Long live Palestine free and sovereign

The Second International Conference of Solidarity with the Palestinian People was held in Mexico City from May 15-17. Opening to an overflow crowd of more than 200 people representing 34 countries and over 150 organizations, the conference served to strengthen the broad and growing worldwide support for the people of Palestine. It also afforded a positive opportunity for the many different organizations present to share their experience and strengthen their links with one another. This, many said, was of great assistance to strengthening the fraternal unity of the peoples and their common struggle for their rights.

Held under the banner Long Live Palestine Free and Sovereign, the conference featured speakers representing many countries in Latin America, North America and Europe, as well as Laos, Vietnam, Angola, Congo Brazzaville, Tunisia and the Middle East, including Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Syria. The highlight of the opening session was the intervention by Fawzi Al-Mashni, Palestinian Ambassador to Mexico, who gave a rousing affirmation of the determination of the people of Palestine to achieve their national rights. He emphasized that the Palestinians represent all the "forces of peace, justice and freedom of the world."

He also read, to repeated applause, a letter to the conference from Palestinian National Authority President Yasser Arafat. President Arafat addressed the long history of crimes against the Palestinians and the failure of Israel to abide by over 500 UN resolutions. He said the time has come for the UN Security Council to end its double standards with regard to Palestine and reiterated that the people of Palestine are fighting for peace. The recent aggression of the Israeli Zionists showed their intent to humiliate and subjugate the entire Palestinian people and destroy their leadership and economy. President Arafat called for intensified action on the part of all the world's people to condemn these crimes, US complicity in them and support the just demand for an end to the occupation and independence for Palestine.

Participants welcomed the many groups and individuals from Mexico, as well as those from Brazil, Bolivia, Cuba, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, Puerto Rico and Venezuela. Several women's organizations, including those from Palestine, the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and many others also participated.

Several themes emerged in the course of the deliberations.

One was the need to vigorously oppose war crimes and state terrorism. This included having a world-recognized definition of terrorism that makes a distinction between individual acts of terrorism, which were condemned, and the just struggles of the people for their national and social rights, including armed struggle.

E.BOYER/SIPA PRESS

▲ *Profound indignation swept the world at Israel's invasion. More than one million people demonstrated in Rabat, Morocco on April 7.*

The US "war on terrorism" was widely condemned as an attack on the struggles of the peoples for their rights.

Another theme was the necessity for the international movement to step up support for the Palestinians through all means – demonstrations, conferences, calling on governments to withdraw ambassadors from Israel, to boycott US products, for economic sanctions, etc.

The need to democratize the United Nations so as to end the double standards imposed by US dictate over the Security Council was also addressed. The unending failure of UN resolutions on Palestine to be enforced, especially those dealing with ending the occupation and right of return for the refugees, was emphasized.

With one unified voice, participants affirmed that US imperialism and the Israeli Zionists will fail in their efforts to crush the struggles of the Palestinian and world's people. It is the people and their just cause of peace, justice and the right to determine their own affairs that will prevail!

Many participants, such as those from Cuba, Panama and Venezuela, related their own experience with the United States and what it means to be occupied and to fight big military powers. They also exemplified people's abilities to advance their cause. It is the people, they said, advancing on the basis of their own efforts that are decisive.

The Conference concluded with a Final Declaration and Action Plans expressing firm support of the peoples for the just struggle of the Palestinians. The Declaration issued an appeal to all parties; political, mass and professional and social organizations; non-governmental organizations; personalities and the whole international community to mobilize to bring an end to the crimes against the Palestinian people, condemning the US and Israel for their barbarism and genocide.

The Declaration reiterated that a just solution required ending the occupation, and implementing UN resolutions, especially 194 on the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their historic homeland and 242 and 338 demanding the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied in 1967.

Participants left the conference filled with the strength flowing from so many representatives from so many countries standing as one to support the Palestinians and defend the rights of all. Everyone warmly thanked the organizers of the conference, the Organization for the Solidarity of the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the Worker's Party of Mexico. Together participants committed themselves and the organizations they represented to greatly step up and broaden the efforts to insure a free and sovereign Palestine. —*Staff*

Tutu condemns Israeli apartheid

BBC News Report, Monday, 29 April 2002

South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu has accused Israel of practising apartheid in its policies towards the Palestinians. The Nobel peace laureate said he was "very deeply distressed" by a visit to Israel, adding that "it reminded me so much of what happened to us black people in South Africa."

In a speech at a conference called Ending the Oppression in Boston, carried in the UK's *Guardian* newspaper, Archbishop Tutu said he saw "the humiliation of the Palestinians at checkpoints and roadblocks, suffering like us when young white police officers prevented us from moving about."

The archbishop, who was a leading opponent of apartheid in South Africa, said Israel would "never get true security and safety through oppressing another people."

He said his criticism of the Israeli Government did not mean he was anti-Semitic. "I am not even anti-white, despite the madness of that group," he said.

The archbishop attacked the political power of Zionist groups in the US, saying: "People are scared in this country, to say wrong is wrong because the Jewish lobby is powerful – very powerful. Well, so what?

"The apartheid government was very powerful, but today it no longer exists." Hitler and Mussolini "were all powerful, but in the end they bit the dust," he said.

Archbishop Tutu told delegates Jewish people had been at the forefront of the struggle ▶

The Palestinian people will not surrender

BADIL RESOURCE CENTER, 8 APRIL 2002

Call for a Global Campaign to Boycott Israeli Goods and Services

"The Israeli Defense Forces have rendered a hellish battleground among the civilians in the Balata and Jenin refugee camps. We are getting reports of pure horror... [The international conventions that protect non-combatants in times of conflicts] are worthless, if they are not adhered to precisely at times of the greatest blood-letting. The world is watching, and Israel needs to end this pitiless assault on civilian refugee camps." *(UNRWA High Commissioner Peter Hansen, UNRWA press release "End the Horror in the Camps," 7 April 2002)*

Despite death, destruction, and the humanitarian crisis, however, Israel's US-backed military campaign will not achieve the surrender of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian people will not surrender, because all of us, in Jenin, Nablus, Balata, Tulkarem, Qalqilya, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Aida, Deheishe and elsewhere in occupied Palestine, **have proof that we are not alone!** We are overwhelmed and empowered by the tremendous expression of solidarity we witness daily in all parts of the world. Confined to our homes by military curfews and in the midst of the rumbling of Israel's tanks and the terrifying sound of shooting and shelling, and with the United State's Apaches and F-16s roaming above our homes, we have seen you. On our TV screens we have seen the tens – and hundreds of thousands of you – marching in al-Ribat, Cairo, Amman, Damascus, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, New York, Paris, Rome, Brussels, Antwerpen, Berne and everywhere on this globe for the sake of justice in Palestine. You, the global solidarity movement, must know that you have been our source of strength in these dark days, and that you will remain our source of strength for a better future.

Against the background of governments' unwillingness to provide international protection for the Palestinian people and apply sanctions against Israel, we call upon the global solidarity movement to launch and coordinate **a broad campaign to boycott Israeli goods and services** everywhere in the world for the sake of a better future for the Palestinian, Arab and Israeli people in the region. More than 50 years after the Palestinian Nakba of 1948, Israel must no longer be permitted to stand above international law, and the impunity of war criminals must end.

BADIL Resource Center welcomes the launching in the United States of the "Boycott Israeli Goods (BIG)" grassroots campaign. BIG advocates consumer boycotting of Israeli agricultural and industrial products, divestment of US funds in Israeli companies and in State of Israel bonds, as well as boycott of tourism, until Israel will end its occupation of all areas occupied in 1967 and respect international law and human rights, including the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and lands. Similar boycotts and initiatives aimed at pressuring governments and the European Union to suspend cultural, economic and military aid and agreements with Israel have been launched in Europe, the West Coast of the US, many African and Asian countries, and in Israel itself.

It is time now, based on the broad consensus of civil society organizations at the Third World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa, to **transform the impressive global demonstration of solidarity** with the Palestinian people into a **broad and sustained Israel boycott campaign** similar to the boycott movement that finally removed the repressive apartheid regime in South Africa. Consumers and activists should not only boycott Israeli products and services, but also use the opportunity to educate others about repressive and apartheid-like Israeli policies supported by governments worldwide, especially by the United States.

BADIL: Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugees: Palestinian advocacy groups promotes refugee rights, in general, and supports the Right of Return. www.badil.org

KAHLED ZIGHARI, FROM A LONDON EXHIBIT

against apartheid in South Africa.

He asked: "Have our Jewish sisters and brothers forgotten their humiliation? Have they forgotten the collective punishment, the home demolitions, in their own history so soon?

"Have they turned their backs on their profound and noble religious traditions?"

The archbishop said that while he condemned suicide bombings against Israel, Israeli military action would not bring security to the Jewish state.

Israel must "strive for peace based on justice, based on withdrawal from all the occupied territories, and the establishment of a viable Palestinian state on those territories side by side with Israel, both with secure borders," he said.

Israeli soldiers who say 'No!'

'We shall not continue to fight beyond the 1967 borders in order to dominate, expel, starve and humiliate an entire people'

2 APRIL 2002

We, reserve combat officers and soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces, who were raised upon the principles of Zionism, sacrifice and giving to the people of Israel and to the State of Israel, who have always served in the front lines, and who were the first to carry out any mission, light or heavy, in order to protect the State of Israel and strengthen it.

We, combat officers and soldiers who have served the State of Israel for long weeks every year, in spite of the dear cost to our personal lives, have been on reserve duty all over the Occupied Territories, and were issued commands and directives that had nothing to do with the security of our country, and that had the sole purpose of perpetuating our control over the Palestinian people.

We, whose eyes have seen the bloody toll this Occupation exacts from both sides.

We, who sensed how the commands issued to us in the Territories, destroy all the values we had absorbed while growing up in this country.

We, who understand now that the price of Occupation is the loss of IDF's human character and the corruption of the entire Israeli society.

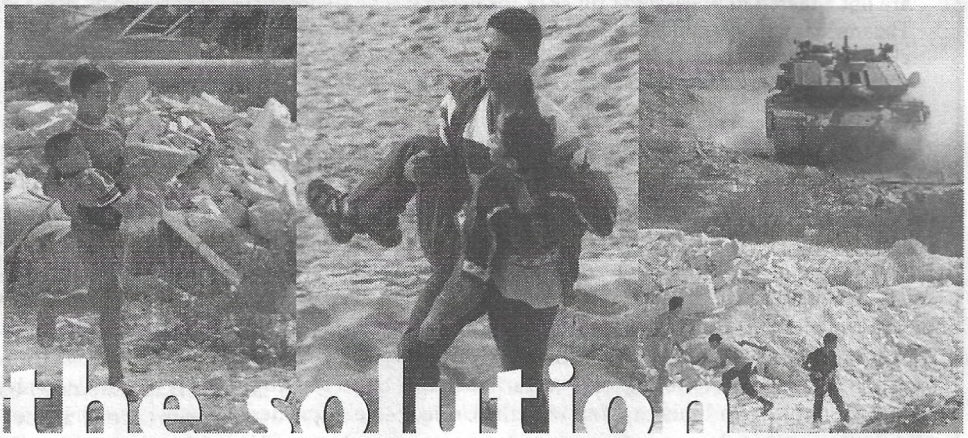
We, who know that the Territories are not Israel, and that all settlements are bound to be evacuated in the end.

- We hereby declare that we shall not continue to fight this War of the Settlements.
- We shall not continue to fight beyond the 1967 borders in order to dominate, expel, starve and humiliate an entire people.
- We hereby declare that we shall continue serving in the Israel Defense Forces in any mission that serves Israel's defense.
- The missions of occupation and oppression do not serve this purpose – and we shall take no part in them.

www.seruv.org.il/ There are currently 21 conscientious objectors in Israeli jails for refusing to serve in the occupied territories. More than 500 Israeli soldiers have joined Courage to Refuse.

■ The Palestinian perspective, rarely given at any length in the mass media, looks beyond the stock images ■ In this interview, **Imad Jadaa**, Palestinian ambassador to Cuba, stresses the need to end the conflict which, in his opinion, conceals Israel's problem: the internal crisis of the Zionist state.

▲ *An Intifada of all ages*



the solution

BY MARELYS VALENCIA
AUGUST 6, 2002 GRANMA INTERNATIONAL

On September 28, 2000, Ariel Sharon, member of the Israeli Parliament made an unusual appearance at the Al Aqsa mosque, a sacred Arab temple, shielded by 3,000 armed men. The following day the third and longest-lasting Intifada was unleashed. Sharon, sworn enemy of the Palestinians, who had criticized Barak and Netanyahu for negotiating East Jerusalem in exchange for peace, and who – prior to becoming Prime Minister – declared he would not accept threats, prepared the way for fresh confrontations with his provocative visit.

After two years of Intifada and before the violence of the last few months, Imad Jadaa, Palestinian ambassador to Cuba, stressed the conflict conceals the real Israeli problem.

A: Here we have to analyze. All the indicators point to the fact that Israel is experiencing a profound internal crisis. Economically speaking, 53 years after its artificial creation, it continues to survive thanks to US aid and donations from Jewish communities. Socially, there is a crisis due to a wide ethnic diversity dominating the population: it is the only country in the world that continues to import citizens. Its population is now estimated at six million. By 2035, Jews will become a minority group among the Arabs, Muslims, Christians and the Russians currently arriving. It will be a state led by a Jewish minority, a new form of apartheid. How can it be democratic: what has happened to the Zionist dream? That is the question that is making Israel lose sleep. How can it defer the problem and not find a solution to it?

If we look back at events from 1993 to 2000, the seven-year period of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) is the first time that Palestinians governed themselves. We began to install public education and health systems; Palestinian cities had traffic lights, municipal services, street cleaning and aqueducts.

The contradictions within the PNA are not the main factor; it is the continued occupation of our territory and the absence of a political strategy for achieving peace in the Middle East.

If we consider Israel's ethnic polarization, within an area of 22,000 sq km, it cannot be another Yugoslavia, giving one part to the Arabs and another to the Russians. It is either one whole united Israel or there is no Israel: that is the issue that nobody mentions.

They talk of suicide bombers. Why are they happening? A 23-year-old woman, in her third year at university, imagines a very rosy future. When and why does she decide to sacrifice her life? To seek prestige? Desperation kills. That is what's happening with these people. There's nothing to fight for. An eight-year-old boy stands in front of a tank throwing rocks until the Israeli soldier with a machine gun shoots him. Seeing the soldiers' humiliation of his father, the sadness and the pain of his mother at losing her relatives, that child decides that life is not worth it. That is desperation.

We have requested international protection for our people, however, with the support of the US, Israel has rejected it... For the first time in history, a country has dared to confront the international community and say no to a commission appointed by the (UN) Security Council, to simply annul that body, because it would help people understand that the problem is in Israel, not in Palestine.

G: Why do you think that by extending the conflict with the Palestinians Israel is avoiding its internal problems?

A: It gives priority to suicide bombings and corruption within the Palestinian Authority in order to avoid talking about the occupation, so that the Israeli people continue living in a state of stress like the Bush administration created after September 11. By concentrating attention on others one diverts from the real problem. In the US they are talking of PNA corruption, but look at the bankruptcy scandals, the falsifications of documents in WordCom and a whole series of companies at a level of billions of dollars. It is to cover up real problems with artificial ones. They criticize the PNA because we haven't written a constitution. But, neither has Israel...They speak of the Al Aqsa Intifada but nobody mentions Sharon's visit the day before, the many suicides, or Israel's rejection of the international resolution on Camp Jenin.

G: Why does the United States want to eliminate Arafat from the political arena?

A: I would like to ask: How could the US give Carmona and his coup d'état in Venezuela its blessing when Arafat was democratically elected by his people, under international supervision? It declares that the PNA was not democratic and Arafat must be eliminated. The Palestinians are a people like any other and have the right to choose the direction they wish to take.

G: What would happen if Arafat did not exist?

A: Arafat is a son of the Palestinian people. He was born from the suffering of the people, he grew up seeing his people repressed and humiliated. He is one of millions of Palestinians who have felt this; the Palestinian people placed their faith in Arafat. As a human being, he will disappear one day and whoever comes after him to lead the Palestinian people will also have lived and been part of the people's suffering. They are trying to eliminate someone who knows the value of Palestinian blood, not just Arafat. That is what they are trying to destroy, a symbol. That's why the people will not let it happen.

G: Some days ago, a report was published regarding the repercussions of these two years of violence on the Israeli economy, a loss of around $20 millionUS. What has been the damage inflicted on the Palestinian people?

A: The damage is incalculable. Destruction of

civilian properties like the Gaza airport, which was demolished, as were the beginnings of projects in the city's port, buildings... One day we will be able to calculate the cost. Economic damage can be recuperated, but who will give back life to the innocent victims of genocide? It's no coincidence that a UN report claims that Palestine's unemployment rate is one of the highest in the world at 66.6%; 55% of the population is living below the poverty line; and 80% of children from eight to 14 are suffering from

'And what will those who are children now do in ten years time after seeing what has happened from 2000 to date? Everyone needs to open their eyes and think... hard'

psychological disorders as a result of the horror they have experienced in the last two years. These are current realities. 40% of Palestinian women are anemic. These details do not reach the news cables, even in the era of satellite TV.

G: How are Palestinians in the seven occupied cities of the West Bank living?

A: They have a 24-hour curfew that is only lifted when Israel wants to capture people who go out on the streets to deal with their problems. The fact of the Jewish holocaust is known, but today the entire world is witnessing how they mistreat children, how they tie them up with nylon string that is stronger than they are, blindfold them and take them off in trucks to unknown destinations.

G: And what happens to them?

A: Nobody knows. The few that return speak of the horror, the torture at the hand of the Israelis, but to date there are 8,000 disappeared Palestinians. All we know is that the Israelis take them away in front of their homes and families. Some are imprisoned in the Nagev desert in the south, where in July and August temperatures reach 47 degrees.

G: Can Palestinians work in occupied cities?

A: No, there are curfews. Last week we experienced another humanitarian crisis at the Jordanian border. Some 3,000 Palestinians, men, women and children who needed to cross the border between the West Bank and Jordan to return to their homes, were left stranded for one week without tents or water, due to an Israeli curfew imposed when the government suddenly decided to reorganize the border crossing. Three thousand were stuck there. That's no lie. The entire world saw it, but there is a total silence about it and silence is complicity.

G: Do you believe there is really a will on the part of Israel to establish a dialogue?

A: Everything indicates that there is an Israeli-US agreement, with international participation, to defer the crisis with these inventions that lead us into a blind alley, or on an ambiguous route in order to make us forget what happened yesterday and not solve the problem. The solution to the problem of Palestine is very simple. There are dozens of UN resolutions on the issue.... What is obstructing the decision? Israeli arrogance and lack of respect for international law. When Israel feels that it is a normal state with a normal economy and a normal people, it can start to think of a solution.

However, when the radical circles saw that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin had decided to work for a genuine peace, they eliminated him and never spoke of him again.

Now the mediators, and specifically the European Union, are trying to propitiate Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian cities occupied in recent months and to halt any further Israeli colonial settlements in Palestinian territory. But that would be to return to the talks in 2000, before the Intifada.

This is the tunnel I was talking about. They are now talking about returning to the situation prior to September 28, 2000, but who is going to compensate for all the destruction that has taken place since then? Who is going to mend the human and political wounds inflicted since? We do not have to return to that date, we must return to the partition plan of 1947, we must return to Resolution 242 that obliges Israel to retreat from the territories it occupied in 1967, and we must also return to Resolution 181 of November 29, 1947, which divides Palestine into two states. The world accepted the Israeli part, but the Palestinian part has never been resolved. It would be easy if a genuine will existed.

G: There is a proposal to form a quartet of the European Union, the United States, Russia and the United Nations to mediate in the conflict.

A: Why must we continue looking for initiatives when everything is in place? The only thing that needs to be done is to establish a mechanism with the motto "let us respect international law," which calls for the creation of the Palestinian state. To create that state a plan is needed, a working agenda that the international community will respect and defend. Looking for new plans and initiatives is a waste of time, is more aggression for Palestinians and more reaction from Palestinians, more suicides, more bombs and more deaths on both sides.

G: Do you know of any internal movements within Israel that are opposed to Sharon's policy?

A: Yes – left-wing parties, civil movements, NGOs, groups of mothers who don't want their sons to go to the West Bank or Gaza to kill Palestinians and come back as corpses. But these voices are still faint.

G: A lot is reported in the news about the attacks perpetrated by groups like Hamas, the suicides... What is the PNA's current dialogue with these groups in order to halt their actions, utilized by Israel as a pretext for the occupation?

G: They are not attacks but a form of national resistance to the occupation, a right guaranteed to all peoples of the world by international law. They cannot be qualified as attacks or terrorism. It is a people guaranteeing its legitimate right. But, given that the world calls it that, today the founder and leader of Hamas announced that we are prepared to stop military operations against Israeli civilians when there is an end to the occupation of our territories. Why do they always want to put the cart in front of the horse?

G: What would happen if the Palestinian response were to cease for a moment, simply to see how Israel would act?

A: No, I would like to ask: why don't we test it out by withdrawing the Israeli troops from Palestinian territory, test out when they are going to give us all the money stolen from our government in order to use it to solve our people's problems. It's not simply having

▲ *Crisis: Jews rejecting Zionism, and supporting the inalienable rights of the Palestinians*

Palestinians test it out, when it is well known that any action is followed by reaction. The problem is the occupation and there is no partial or complete solution until the Israeli troops withdraw. There isn't going to be any peace and tranquility in the Middle East until the Palestinians can enjoy their rights.

This must be brought to the attention of all humanity: in the previous Intifadas of 1987 and 1993 the most Palestinians did was throw stones. Those children who were seven in '87 and '93 are now immolating themselves. What are those who are children now going to do in 10 years after seeing what has occurred from 2000 to date? The world has to open its eyes and think hard on this issue. The world has to take urgent measures and think of the reaction that will be produced in ten years. What authority will be able to control those young people? It is a very complicated and worrying question. The sooner a solution is found for the Palestinian people, the sooner there will be well-being for the entire international community. ■

WATER: ANOTHER WEAPON

MAP ADAPTED FROM LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, JUNE 2000 / PHOTOS BY NISREEN 'ALIAN, B'TSELEM, 2001

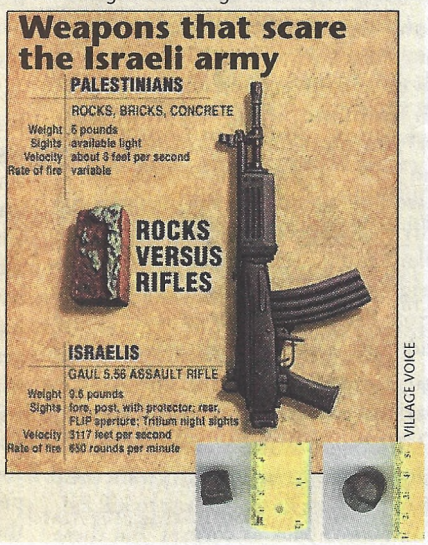
"Israel will retain control of the security zones – the Jordan Valley, and the West Bank hills on the west – during the interim agreement period. Israel will also continue its hold on the highways running across the West Bank ***and the water sources of the aquifer.***" *—Ariel Sharon's election promise, 2000*

Israel's armed attack on Palestinian cities in 2001 intensified the severe annual summer water shortage. People were unable to meet certain basic needs, such as maintaining personal hygiene, house cleaning, and watering their animals, gardens, and crops, which provide a source of food and livelihood for many Palestinian households.

- Israel controls the majority of the Jordan River basin and the West Bank's aquifers. Water in the Occupied Territories has been under military control since 1967. Palestinian consumption is severely restricted, causing serious water deficiencies in most homes.
- Inhabitants are forbidden to dig new wells; Jewish settlements may drill without restriction. The World Bank says Israel uses 90% of the three West Bank aquifers.
- In Hebron, 85% of the water goes to 400 settlers, while the rest is left for 140,000 Palestinians.
- Israel now draws 30% and 35% of its water from the occupied West Bank and Golan Heights respectively. This "fact on the ground" became an additional justification to maintain Israel's occupation in defiance of UN resolutions.
- The Ministry of Agriculture, in an ad in the *Jerusalem Post* (18/8/90), said that giving up Palestinian water would constitute "mor-tal dangers" and "would, in a most tangible way, endanger her continued existence."
- Control of water from the Jordan and Yarmouk, Litani and Hasbani (Lebanon) and Banias (Syria) – and the Nile and the Euphrates rivers – is a long-term objective of the Zionists, going back to the 1890s.

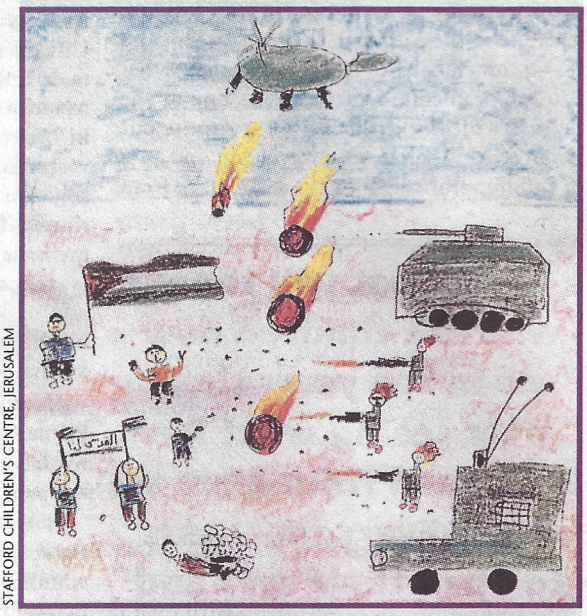
ELIZABETH DALZIEL/AP

This photo appeared in *Time* magazine with the caption: "Israel soldiers fire rubber bullets at Israeli Arab youths". Such reporting is inaccurate as well as biased. Israel's shooting of Palestinians with *rubber bullets* is portrayed as a humane act (as was done with the British in Derry, Northern Ireland). Nigel Parry, The Electronic Intifada, points out: The phrase "rubber bullets" is used to describe *rubber-coated metal bullets*, heavy steel projectiles with a thin coating of rubber, that are regularly used alongside live ammunition to lethal effect. The bullets are fired from metal tubes on the end of high-velocity rifles, powered by blank rounds, containing around 8 rubber-coated steel projectiles. *Plastic-coated metal bullets* (circular, with a hard plastic coating) are fired in the same way, from canisters with a wider diameter, holding around 15. Range and velocity of both types are unknown. Both are capable of entering the skull cavity and also breaking bones. Photos of a single rubber bullet are shown (right). Over 1,914 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli soldiers, settlers or police since September 2000. 60% were shot with *live* ammunition. 22.5% were 18 or younger. 85% were civilians or not involved in any violent action or attack at the time they were killed. On October 9 Israeli radio said new instructions stipulated that soldiers should treat stone-throwers (youth) on equal footing with fighters opening fire on Israeli forces, meaning that soldiers should shoot and kill the stone throwers. The instructions have in effect for some time but were spelled out formally for the first time. The next morning soldiers killed a 11-year-old and a 15-year-old boy, and badly wounded five others who were throwing stones at huge tanks in Rafaf in Gaza.



VILLAGE VOICE

Humanitarian crisis faces Palestinians



STAFFORD CHILDREN'S CENTRE, JERUSALEM

70% poverty; 30% children malnourished

July 29, 2002–The situation in the occupied Palestinian territories has increasingly worsened as Israel has tightened its stranglehold on all the towns and villages, invading and re-occupying the majority of the population centres and placing their inhabitants under curfew; travel between towns and cities is rendered impossible with soldiers, blockades and military checkpoints on every road.

One result of this is an economic crisis not experienced since the 1967 war. According to a World Bank report, 70% of Palestinians are living in poverty – officially set at under $US2 a day, and this is having a devastating effect on all aspects of Palestinian life.

The humanitarian crisis the Palestinians have long predicted has finally been acknowledged in a report prepared by the US Agency for International Development and John Hopkins University.

The findings say 30% of children under five years suffer from chronic malnutrition and 21% from acute malnutrition, a huge increase since the last survey was carried out in 2000, when the figures were 7.5% and 2.5% respectively.

More than 30% of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip now depend upon food aid in order to feed themselves and their families, and of those surveyed 50% need to borrow money to purchase basic foodstuffs, with others selling their assets to do the same.

Dr. Mustafa Barghouthi said "other indicators related to medical treatment show the risk of communicable diseases is growing, as is the danger facing Palestinians due to lack of access to medical care. Already 65 Palestinians have died due to not receiving medical care, and this will only increase as free movement is further restricted, and those with chronic diseases are unable to receive treatment due to access, availability or economic reasons."

The Palestinian Ministry of Health estimates the number of women giving birth at home has risen from 3% to 30%, while those giving birth with skilled health workers has decreased from 97.4% to 67%, both of which endanger the lives of the mother and child.

– www.palestinemonitor.org

When Ramallah dreamt about the United States

BY RAJA SHEHADEH
GRANTA 77 (LONDON, UK)

[The September 11 attacks on the US provoked shock and pity in the rest of the world. But in the wake of the Bush administration's enthusiastic endorsement of Israel's activities against the Palestinians, a universal upwelling of resentments old and new against America poured not just into the streets of cities around the world but into much other social space as well. The English literary review *Granta* recently published articles from 24 writers from many countries on the role of the United States, on the theme "What We Think of America", including this essay by Ramallah native Raja Shehadeh, founder of the Palestinian legal defence group *Al-Haq* (Justice)]

NELSON/GETTY IMAGES

▲ *Palestinian men are lined up under a tank March 30, 2002 after Israeli soldiers in Ramallah rounded them up en masse. Some 8000 Palestinians, ranging from minors to middle-aged men, were arrested.*

Ever since I was a child I have been losing friends and relatives to America. I remember one summer afternoon sitting on a green wicker chair, which had first to be cleared of dry pine needles, in the garden of the Ramallah Grand Hotel. Trees rustled in the breeze. I was just ten years old. My friend Issa Mitri and I had been allowed to join a group of older guys who were saying farewell to Issa's brother. He was leaving next day for the US, the first of his family to emigrate.

I had not heard that word before. Did it mean he would never come back? Issa solemnly confirmed this was so. He was more proud than sad. I looked at his brother Elias, a tall, slightly stooped young man with a shy face. He didn't look particularly happy. I could not understand why. Travelling to America was to me then like going to heaven. I could not understand why he was not utterly blissful.

A few years later Issa left Ramallah to finish high school in America. This was soon after the 1967 war and Israel's occupation of the West Bank, and the Mitri family had decided he would be safer there. His mother went with him to keep house. His father, who reported for *Newsweek*, remained alone for a few months and then decided to pack his bags. I remember seeing him before he left and asking him if he was happy to be leaving. There was rancour in his voice as he told me: 'I have long been dreaming of the time when I would no longer have to follow your father around to get his comments on the situation.' My father was a political maverick. A few days after the war he had called for a peaceful resolution of the conflict based on the partition of the land into two states, Israel and Palestine, the Palestinian state to be created in the areas occupied by Israel in 1967. That was then a novel proposal, and it earned him few friends among Palestinians or Israelis.

There are tens of thousands of Ramallah people like the Mitris, who settled permanently in America. The few who come back for brief summer visits parade up and down Main Street in their Bermudas and baseball hats, stopping at the ice cream parlour to reminisce with its proprietor in an old accent that you hardly ever hear in Ramallah today. The migration has gone on since the end of the nineteenth century; today there are more people in the US from Ramallah than in Ramallah. Before 1967 that was how most Palestinians related to America – *via* the good things about the country that they heard from migrant friends and relations. After 1967, America entered our life in a different way.

After Israel occupied the Palestinian territories, it began almost immediately to claim large areas of land surrounding our towns and villages for the building of Jewish settlements. This was an expensive enterprise. Without American largesse, both official and private, this massive assault on our countryside would not have been possible.

When the British ruled Palestine during the Mandate, they didn't expropriate Arab land to build Jewish settlements. They fulfilled the terms of the mandate that called for the creation of a national home for the Jews in Palestine in other less provocative and costly ways. The roads they built were cheap. They followed the contours of the hills. And they were still used well after the Mandate ended in May 1948. In the early Eighties, when I accompanied my father, whose driving was as perilous as his politics, to the court in Nablus I would hear him curse the British as he took the turns so abruptly that my stomach jumped. 'Instead of cutting through in a straight line they had to go around every damn hill,' he would complain. He had just returned from his first trip to the US and was captivated by the American spirit. He believed the Middle East should follow the American example and open up its borders for immigration. The influx of new blood would rid us of our interminable squabbles. How he proposed to convince Israel to abandon its dream of Jewish purity I never knew. In any case, I had no time to ask; it was only a passing fancy.

■ ***Raja Shehadeh, 51, lawyer, is author of several works such as Journal of a Palestinian on the Occupied West Bank (1983) and Occupiers' Law: Israel and the West Bank (1988).***

My father began his legal practice in Jaffa in 1935 when Palestine was still undivided. By the time I began to practise law, the West Bank was under Israeli occupation. On my way to courts in different parts of the country, I could see heavy Israeli machinery flattening the tops of hills. Many of the settlers were enthusiastic American Jews who dreamed of being pioneers. They used the tactics of colonizers everywhere: surveying, mapping, developing spurious legal arguments to justify their plunder, and terrorizing local Palestinians who stood in their way. 'Transfer' was the euphemism used by the Israeli parties which advocated ethnic cleansing. To many Palestinians it appeared that American money funded this settlement project just as America's pioneering history vindicated it.

Within a few years Israeli settlements came to dominate the Palestinian landscape. Next came the need for new roads to connect ▶

them to Israel; not the old British-style meandering roads but American-style straight four-lane highways that cut through the hills that stood in the way. Palestine is tiny and its countryside precious, yet by 1984 Israeli planners had developed a fully fledged road plan which superimposed on the old north-south road grid a scheme of east-west highways that would cut in half the commuting time between the West Bank's new dormitory settlements and the centre of Israel. The plan needed billions of America dollars to implement. Funding was again no problem.

In the context of the Middle East conflict, roads may seem a small thing, but they have done a kind of spiritual damage. Gone is that attractive stretch of serpentine road that meandered downhill into the lower wadi that led into Nablus, an ancient city cupped between the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim. Gone are the gorgeous, dramatic views. Now the expensive new highway cuts through the hill and all you see as you drive is a cutting.

But American assistance did not stop at the funding of ideologically motivated programmes. Last July my cousin was at a wedding reception in a hotel on the southern outskirts of Ramallah. An F16 fighter jet dropped a hundred-pound bomb on a nearby building. Everything had been quiet. There was no warning of imminent attack. The young couple were exchanging rings. The wedding cake was about to be served. When the missile zoomed over the hotel, the aluminium frames of the large French windows were torn asunder, all the glass shattered, the powerful security doors burst their frames. The wedding cake became encrusted with glass and guests, along with the waiters, all hit the floor. The target, an old house next to the hotel where the reception was being held, was obliterated. You could not tell that a house had ever stood on that land. Something happened to my cousin that evening. He felt he had been through the worst. He felt he had died and was surprised afterwards to find he was still alive. He was also emboldened. Fear had been wrested out of him. He did not hate America. He studied there. On his last trip to New York he had visited the Twin Towers in New York. He fully appreciated the immensity of the tragedy. When the bombing took place he was worried about his brother who often takes the Boston–Los Angeles flight in the course of his work. Yet when I asked him what he thought of the country, he dismissed it as a lackey of Israel, giving unlimited military assistance and never censoring its use of US weaponry against innocent civilians.

Most Americans may never know why my cousin turned his back on their country. But in America the parts are larger than the whole. It is still possible that the optimism, energy and opposition of Americans in their diversity may yet turn the tide and make America listen. ■

Children under fire

Some people ask why Palestinian mothers push their children into the line of fire and then cry over their dead bodies. At first sight, the question may seem logical. But the premise is pathological.

The right question is why do the soldiers kill these children? And, in some cases, in cold blood, taking aim with pinpoint accuracy. This question should logically lead to another. What are they doing here on Palestinian land? Instead, these same people prefer to look the other way. It is easier to see these children as hoodlums and devils, who actually provoke the soldiers into killing them. Perhaps these children do not want to live, they say. Anyway, how can their mothers have any maternal feelings?

We need to think what lies behind this question. If Palestinian women have no feelings for their children, then the Palestinians are not really human. And if we're not really human, then we're not even equal to animals. After all, dogs and cats care their young in times of danger.

This line of thinking is reminiscent of how white South Africans used to think of blacks. How European colonizers thought of native Americans and aborigines. How Nazis thought of Jews.

The premise rules out that the Palestinians are defending their land and dignity – a basic human right. It suggests that Palestinians are violent for the sake of violence and that they hate Jews just because they are Jews. Those who believe this seem not to know – or do not want to know – that Israel is occupying Palestinian lands. And that this occupation is continuous, destructive and profoundly humiliating. And that it has been condemned by many Jews across the world.

by Eyad Serraj,

Head of Gaza Mental Health Community Centre

▲ *Siblings caught red-handed*

▲ *Over 15,000 children have been injured. Many are crippled for life.*

Canada and Palestine: double standards

The Palestinian Question and preparations for the war against Iraq bring a dangerous international situation into the open. In the name of "regime change" George W. Bush has declared open season on the Iraqi people, to remake the world, under the pretext that Iraq has violated UN resolutions, is building weapons of mass destruction, and is a threat to the world's people. Yet Israel has violated 69 UN resolutions or more, has weapons of mass destruction, and is following a policy of genocide against the Palestinian people. Nothing is said by George W. Bush about this and Canada also remains silent.

Under the veneer of the highest ideals, the Government of Canada conciliates with Israeli atrocities, blaming "both sides" for what it calls "the cycle of violence." The Government also funds humanitarian agencies which operate in Palestinian territory and neighbouring countries, but politically and diplomatically it conciliates with those who are causing the humanitarian disaster.

Canada's record in the Middle East was crowned with the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Lester Pearson for his role in interrupting the Suez War in 1956. It had already endorsed colonial partition of Historic Palestine in 1947. Lester Pearson publicly defended the Zionist army's invasion in April, 1948 – before the State of Israel came into being on 14 May 1948 – of the territory explicitly reserved by the United Nations for a Palestinian state.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

▲ *Former Canadian PM Lester Pearson (with US President Johnson) during the Vietnam War. Decorated by Israel with a Medal of Valour for his active role in swinging a favourable UN vote reserving part of Palestine for a Jewish state, Pearson was instrumental in setting the course of foreign policy after WWII.*

Canada continues to shield Israel from international criticism over its refusal to recognize the "right of return" of the Palestinian people.

In May 1968 Canada was one of two countries to vote against UN resolutions invalidating Israeli attempts to change Jerusalem's status; in 1979 it proposed to locate its embassy there.

Now the Liberal government is preparing to send troops to settle the issue of Iraq with force of arms, as part of a "multilateral" force, as it did in the Gulf War in January, 1991.

Canada justifies the policy of double standards, one towards Israel and another towards the Palestinians; one towards Israel and another towards Iraq; one towards the United States and another towards everyone else. Canada's role in Palestine is unjust and totally unacceptable.

How should conflicts between nations and within nations be settled?

Since WWII, the principle guiding international relations is that force must not be used to settle conflicts between nations and within nations. The Charter of the United Nations is based on the principle that all nations, big and small, are equal; international rule of law is based on preserving their sovereignty and equality.

Canada is a charter member of the United Nations. Canadians have held high the principles and ideals of international law, and respect for the rule of law – especially the equality of all nations, especially the small and the weak, and their inalienable right to self-determination.

Canadians have stood with the underdog.

The Government betrays this stand on the question of Palestine. Canada's response in April to *Operation Defensive Shield* was ominous silence – the silence of consent with force and aggression against the besieged Palestinian nation.

Although no longer on the Security Council, Canada is still a member of the UN Commission on Human Rights, where it did everything to block its investigation of war crimes in Jenin. Of the 53 members, only two voted against the investigation: Guatemala and Canada.

The government and media also unleashed a campaign belittling the visit of Svend Robinson, then NDP foreign affairs spokesman, to Ramallah, the HQ of the Palestinian Authority. His initiative represented Canadian conscience.

Canada's double standards are not entirely due to "US pressure": such large Canadian monopolies as the Bronfman-owned Koor Industries, the Kahanoff and Press Foundations, and Canadian Highways International Corp. have invested in Israel's infrastructure in the Occupied Territories, facilitating and financing illegal settlements in defiance of UN resolutions. — *Gary Zatzman* ■

'Israel can do no wrong'

Disinformation and ignorance

The Canadian media minces no words about Palestinian and "Islamic terrorism", but when it comes to Israel, it sanitizes terror. When is a massacre not a massacre? When is an invasion not an invasion? When Israel does it, of course; then it is merely its "targeted killing" or its "right to defence".

There is also a strong correlation between the media's Israel can do no wrong editorial policy and the strong anti-Arab, anti-Islam sentiments typically found throughout its pages. Anti-Arab or anti-Islam op-ed pieces are published almost daily by newspapers, says Prof. Mohamed Elmasry, who supervises media monitoring for the Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC), of which he is national president.

Dr. Elmasry conducted a media watch workshop in Halifax on September 28 as part of a national program to activate Canadians to speak out against media disinformation and ignorance.

The times cry out, he stressed, for individual initiative to stand up for truth and oppose falsehood, be it by writing letters to the editor, op-ed articles or participating in and developing the independent and community-based media. He encourages youth to take up and develop serious journalism – with integrity.

The CIC and other groups have called for a national boycott of the *National Post*. "We must hit them in their pocketbook," he stressed.

According to its latest annual *Anti-Islam in the Media* report, released in December, 2001, the *National Post* was found to be the worst offender among nine major Canadian newspapers studied.

However, since 9-11, he said both the ostensibly "liberal" *Toronto Star* and the "centrist" *Globe and Mail* have openly embraced George Bush's "war on terrorism" and replicate the *Post's* hard line.

Major *Globe* columnists are pro-Zionist. Marcus Gee is notorious for the twaddle, "anti-semitism, anti-Americanism, blood brothers in hate."

The media's principal "experts on terrorism" are also seriously compromised. Norman Spector of the *Globe* and the CBC, was editor of the *Jerusalem Post* before becoming Mulroney's Ambassador to Israel.

Prof. Janice Stein of the CBC's *The National* and the University of Toronto's Peter Munk Centre for International Affairs? She privately chairs an internal committee of the Department of National Defence. It allocates $12m annually to 12 Canadian universities for "strategic studies".

Dr. Elmasry cites in particular articles by *National Post* columnist George Jonas, whose persistent anti-Palestine and anti-Islam phrasing is typical.

On 1 April 2002 a one-sided special edition of the *National Post* – as the Israeli blitzkrieg in the Occupied Territories was unfolding – carried an article by Jonas headlined, "The Palestinian Mindset, The Only Injustice is Their Own."

On the other hand, columnists for Southam newspapers, such as Steven Kimber of the *Halifax Daily News*, have been forced to resign for criticizing the pro-Israeli propaganda dictated by this monopoly's owner, Izzy Asper.

Such a pro-Israel editorial policy is not only biased but blatantly undemocratic. It enables Israel to justify genocide. It is of practical assistance to Israel, which cites international media coverage in its favour. It changes facts in the minds of Canadians. It keeps them in the dark as to the history of the conflict, and their government's foreign policy.

This magazine applauds the initiative of all Canadians who are refusing to be intimidated and who are speaking out against such media. ■

Wreaking havoc in Palestine

Continued from page 7

Over 300,000 Palestinians were made refugees, by the end of June 1967, and some for the second time. This was as a result of direct "encouragement" and planned policy by Israel.

Despite Security Council Resolution No. 237 of June 14, 1967, ordering the return of the 1967 Palestinian refugees to their homes, Israel refused to comply.

Israeli policies in the Occupied territories continue in defiance of international law, the Fourth Geneva Convention and repeated Security Council resolutions. These policies include the demolition of Palestinian homes and expropriation of property. Over 70 per cent of the land area of the West Bank has been expropriated, since 1967, for the creation of illegal Jewish settlements. Apart from the destruction of entire villages, thousands of homes have been demolished, as acts of collective punishment or for lack of building permits. Such permits are regularly denied to Palestinians to build on their own land.

In the Gaza Strip alone, 40 per cent of this tiny area is expropriated to illegally accommodate 5000 Jewish settlers. The remaining 60 per cent accommodates approximately one million people, making it an area with the heaviest population density in the world. The vast majority of these people are refugees expelled from their homes in Palestine in 1948.

In a systematic process of economic deprivation, over 230,000 olive and orchard trees, in the 1967 occupied territories, have been uprooted and bulldozed. This is ironic, considering that the Zionist colonists came to Palestine with the myth that they were "to make the desert bloom!"

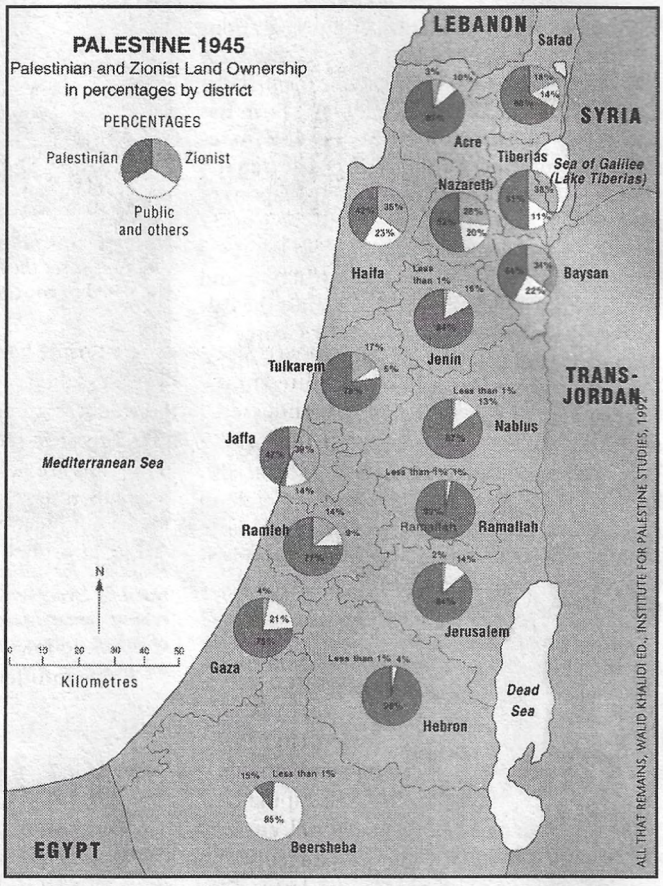
In reference to this lie and the Zionist slogan of Israel Zangwill of 1906, "Palestine is a land without a people for a people without a land", it may be relevant to quote other Jewish Zionists.

In Truth from Palestine in 1891, Ahad Ha'am, the Russian Jewish writer and philosopher, wrote:

> We abroad have a way of thinking that Palestine today is almost desert, an uncultivated wilderness.... But this is not in fact the case. It is difficult to find any uncultivated land anywhere in the country.

The behaviour of Jewish settlers toward the Arabs disturbed him. **They had not learned from experience as a minority within a wider population, but reacted with the cruelty of slaves who had suddenly become kings, treating their neighbours with contempt.** The Arabs, he wrote, understood very well what Zionist intentions were in the country and "if the time should come when the lives of our people in Palestine should develop to the extent that, to a smaller or greater degree they usurp the place of the local population, the latter will not yield easily... **We have to treat the local population with love and respect, justly and rightly. And what do our brethren in the land of Israel do? Exactly the opposite!** Slaves they were in the country of exile, and **suddenly they find themselves in a boundless and anarchic freedom,** as is always the case with a slave that has become king; and they behave toward the Arabs with hostility and cruelty."

Ethics were the heart and soul of Ahad Ha'am's brand of nationalism, and to the end of his life he denounced any compromise with political expediency. In 1913, protesting against a Jewish boycott of Arab labour, he wrote to a friend: "...I can't put up with the idea that our brethren are morally capable of behaving in such a way to humans of another people, and unwittingly the thought comes to my mind: If this is so now, what will our relations to the others be like if, at the end of time, we shall really achieve power in Eretz Israel? And if this be the Messiah, I do not wish to see his coming."



▲ *The source for this map is Village Statistics (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1945). The category of "public ownership" under the British Mandate derived from that known as* miri *under the Ottoman system of land tenure (like Common Lands in Canadian provinces before 1867). Subsumed under the latter category, however, in addition to state domain, were many other subcategories that admitted to a whole range of private and communal usufruct and leasehold.*

We see today Ahad Ha'am's prophetic statement completely fulfilled...

The process of land expropriation and the creation of illegal settlements, while Palestinian homes are bulldozed and their trees uprooted, continue after the charade that is called "The Middle East Peace Process" and the "Oslo Agreements", a process that has legitimized the occupation and undermined the international order and our people's will.

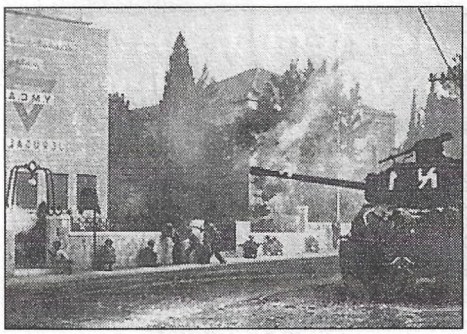
Speaking of peace, it is interesting to note that Ben Gurion gave Arab leaders more credit than they deserve when he stated in 1956:

> I don't understand your optimism. Why should the Arabs make peace? If I was an Arab leader I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: we have taken their country. (Quoted by Nahum Goldmann in The Jewish Paradox, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1978, p. 99)

Another observation that is relevant here is the continuing reference to the need for Israeli security and the accusations of terrorism directed by Israel and Western media and politicians, at Palestinians, who are evidently expected to shower bouquets of flowers at Israelis who have expelled them from their towns and villages and continue to bulldoze their homes, uproot their trees and murder, incarcerate and torture their men, women and children. Interestingly, Canadian General E.L.M. Burns, Chief of Staff of United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), did not expect that. He wrote in his book Between Arab and Israeli, 1962:

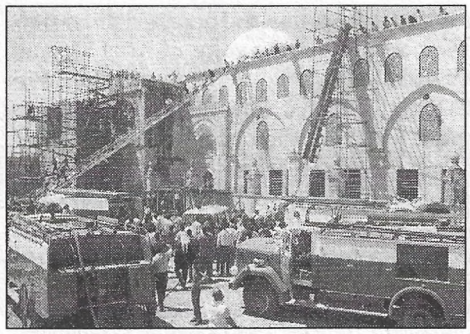
> It seemed to me to be symptomatic of certain blindness to the human reactions of others that so many Israelis professed not to understand why the Arabs who had been driven from their lands should continue to hate and try to injure those who had driven them out. (Lt. Gen. E.L.M. Burns, Chief of Staff of UNTSO, Between Arab and Israeli, p. 162)

Commenting about the Western hypocrisy, Noam Chomsky said that Israeli Labour Party



ARAB STUDIES SOCIETY

▲ *The old city of Jerusalem in flames in 1948. Zionist army attacks and destroys part of Jerusalem, expelling 80,000 Palestinians. (The YMCA is at left)*



WWW.ALKHILAFAH

▲ *After unilaterally annexing Jerusalem in 1967, the Zionists set the historic Masjid Al-Aqsa, completed in 705 CE, to fire. See also centrefold*

▲ *April 4, 2002: Elderly Palestinian is denied access to Jerusalem at an Israeli army checkpoint. Jerusalemites are now required to use identity cards.*

policy adapted itself to Western hypocrisy, as Israeli former Cabinet Minister, Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, described their policy conducted **"so that the West can pretend it does not understand."**

Jerusalem

The fate of Jerusalem is a major issue to determine the future course of peace or conflict in the Middle East.

Jerusalem has been a Palestinian city throughout history, despite periods of occupation by invading alien forces. The same UN Resolution No. 181, of 29 November 1947, that allowed the creation of Israel, stipulated that Jerusalem be an international entity *(corpus separatum)*. Of the 41 villages surrounding West Jerusalem, 37 were destroyed by Israel in 1948. More than 80,000 Palestinians were driven out from West Jerusalem in 1948. The annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967, by Israel, is illegal and in violation of international law and in defiance of Security Council resolutions. However, Israel continues its policy of ethnic cleansing and expropriation in Jerusalem since 1967.

Israel destroyed the entire Magharba quarter, a historic Islamic religious site, to create a Jewish plaza, in front of the Western Wall. The Israeli government expanded the Jerusalem municipality to ten times its original size and annexed it.

Israel has, since 1967, systematically carried out a policy of Judaization of Jerusalem. 85 per cent of the land annexed has been expropriated to create Jewish settlements and homes for Jews only, surrounding and suffocating Arab East Jerusalem.

Arab residents of East Jerusalem are treated as foreigners with special identity cards, as "permanent residents" in Jerusalem. These cards are confiscated from Jerusalemites, if they are forced to work or live outside Jerusalem, even though they and their ancestors have lived in the city for thousands of years. Yet, Jews from New York or Toronto can move into Jerusalem at will.

Since September, 1993 and the Oslo charade, a strict closure has been imposed on Jerusalem for Palestinians in the West Bank, to whom Jerusalem is an economic, medical, cultural, educational and religious centre. Muslims and Christians are denied access to their religious worship places. Since then, hundreds of people have been killed and injured; over 500 families have had their homes demolished; over 1000 people have had their rights to live in Jerusalem, the city of their birth, taken away, while Jews from Moscow or New York can move into Jerusalem, when they choose. Thousands have been arrested, tortured and imprisoned. Land continues to be expropriated, to create Jewish colonies in Palestinian land and thousands of people have found themselves homeless, destitute and hopeless. Students are denied access to their university and the sick are unable to reach hospitals for treatment.

This is what the Oslo charade has brought about. Illegal occupation has been legitimized, the Palestinian Authority has become a subcontractor to do Israel's dirty work in the few scattered "Bantustans" that are nominally under Arafat's control, but besieged by Israel's troops. In essence, the Oslo agreement is another Nakba (catastrophe) that the Palestinian negotiators have inflicted upon their people and have put back the Palestinian struggle for self determination by another generation, at least.

Since the annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967, the Israeli government has adopted a policy of systematic and deliberate discrimination against the city's Palestinian population in all matters relating to expropriation of land, planning and building.

This is the principal finding of a report just published in Israel by B'Tselem, the Israeli Human Rights Organization. It goes on to conclude that "this policy is a clear violation of international law and the fundamental principles of democracy, with grave consequences as regards human rights".

It is true that the Palestinian people have endured so much wrong and injustice but I assure you that the Palestinian people's tenacity is unyielding. Our people are willing to struggle and sacrifice; you cannot defeat a people with this tenacity, when a child turns his little hand into a fist, with a stone, that defies the oppressor. The oppressed people of South Africa were able to teach F.W. de Klerk a lesson that had made Mr. de Klerk declare that the book on Apartheid is closed. I am afraid the book on the Zionist ideology is not yet closed but I can assure you that Zionism, like Apartheid, is running against the natural course of history and I am optimistic that right will overcome wrong. I am also optimistic because there are Jewish voices who are speaking out. The late great Jewish journalist, I.F. Stone, wrote a few years ago:

'I am not afraid to say publicly that Israeli Jews and with them most Jews throughout the world, are undergoing a process of Nazification' – Holocaust survivor Prof. Israel Shahak

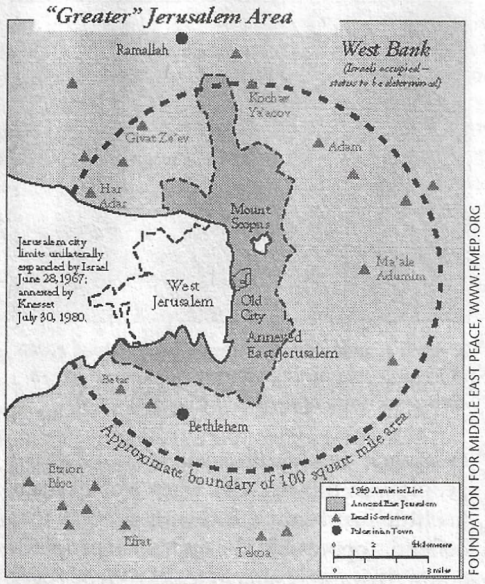
> **How can we talk of human rights and ignore them for the Palestinians?** How can Israel talk of Jewish rights to a homeland and deny one to the Palestinians?

Similarly, Professor Israel Shahak, a Holocaust survivor and Chairman of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, said:

> The majority of the Israeli public are shutting their eyes to the simple human cry of the Palestinian.

He warned his people "not to allow the experience of the German people between the two world wars to befall them". He went on: "I am not afraid to say publicly that Israeli Jews and with them most Jews throughout the world, are undergoing a process of Nazification". He went on to state that he is saying this:

> so that no one can say as the German people did, 'I did not know'. And like Albert Speer, I am trying to act before it is too late. ▶



FOUNDATION FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE, WWW.FMEP.ORG

WREAKING HAVOC...

The editor of the Jewish religious newspaper *Ner* wrote in January, 1961:

> Only an international revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred... How great was our responsibility to those miserable wronged Arab refugees, in whose towns we have settled Jews who were brought from afar; whose homes we have inherited, whose fields we now sow and harvest; and in whose cities that we robbed, we put up houses of education, charity and prayer, **while we babble and rave about our being the 'People of the Book and the Light of the Nations'.**

This is the kind of authentic Jewish voice that I am happy to say gives me hope that, in time, there will be more people like I.F. Stone, Israel Shahak, Felicia Langer and other great Jewish men and women of conscience. For if the other voice, the voice which has come to dominate Israel and Zionist thinking, arrogant with power which thinks only of territorial expansion and practised discrimination and terror, the voice of Ariel Sharon, Yitzhak Shamir, Yitzhak Rabin and Benjamin Netanyahu, if that voice should continue to speak for Israel, then Israel will bring, I am afraid, tragedy on herself and the Palestinians and very likely on the rest of the world.

The tragedy of the Jewish people in the crimes they committed, and continue to commit, against the Palestinian people, are highlighted in that accurate statement made by the renowned British historian, Professor Arnold Toynbee, who wrote in his great work on history The History of the World:

> In A.D. 1948, the Jews knew from personal experience, what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learned by them from their encounter with the Nazi gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews.

The Old Testament prophets were incredibly prophetic in foretelling what would happen if the Jews turned aside from what they knew to be the truth of justice. Let me end by quoting to you some verses from the prophet Micah, who might have been writing for today when he gave this warning:

> Hear this, you heads of the house of Jacob and rulers of the House of Israel, who abhor justice and pervert all equity, who build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with wrong...
> **Therefore because of you Zion shall be ploughed as a field; Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins.**

There is still time to prevent that prophecy from coming true in our own day. But there may not be very much time.

The Palestinian people are calling for a modicum of justice, for without this, I am afraid, there will be no peace for Arab or Jew in the Middle East. ■

Israeli academics protest ethnic cleansing

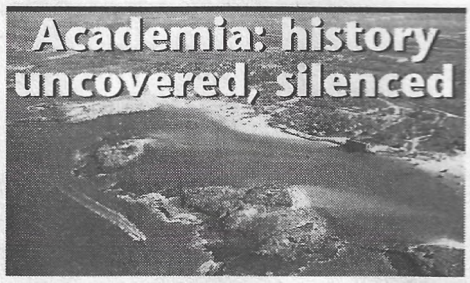
29 September 2002—Ninety-nine academics in Israel published a strong-worded letter of protest in the British daily, *The Guardian,* cautioning the Israeli government from taking advantage of the mayhem caused by an expected hit on Iraq, to launch a fierce attack on the Palestinian People.

"We, members of Israeli academia, are horrified by the US build-up of aggression towards Iraq and by the Israeli political leadership's enthusiastic support for it. We are deeply worried by indications that the 'fog of war' could be exploited by the Israeli government to take further action against the Palestinian people, up to full-fledged ethnic cleansing."

The academics further stressed: "The Israeli ruling coalition includes parties that promote transfer of the Palestinian population as a solution to what they call 'the demographic problem.' In a recent interview in *Ha'aretz,* chief of staff Moshe Ya'alon suggested that more radical 'treatment' may be necessary in the occupied territories. Prime Minister Sharon has backed this 'assessment of reality'. Escalating racist demagoguery concerning the Palestinian citizens of Israel may indicate the scope of the crimes that are possibly being contemplated.'

One of the initiators of the letter, Prof. Jacob Ktriel Technion University in Haifa, told Israel's daily, *Yedioth Ahronot,* "I hope this [letter] would lead to a genuine, effective shake-up, and I hope that from the international side reactions will be able to affect decision-makers in Israel."

The academics concluded by urging the international community to ensure that crimes against humanity are not perpetrated against Palestinians. "We call upon the international community to pay close attention to events that unfold within Israel and in the occupied territories, to make it absolutely clear that crimes against humanity will not be tolerated, and to take concrete measures to prevent such crimes from taking place." (Palestine Media Center) ■



▲ *al-Tantura today. Above mass graves now stands a kibbutz and a large parking lot, paved so that Israeli beach lovers can enjoy what its residents once enjoyed: the rich land and the captivating sea*

Israel's history is based on two strategies: denial of actual history, and defaming those who expose the Zionist version. Even the new historians scarcely acknowledge *al-Nakba* (Catastrophe) of the 1948 war. Palestinian historiography is branded as sheer propaganda.

Yet even the truth sometimes sees the light of day.

In 2000, the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* published a long article on the massacre of Tantura, based on a master's thesis by Teddy Katz from Haifa University. Katz, a 50-year-old kibbutznik, revealed a chilling tale of brutal massacre in this strategic coastal village (pop 1,500), 35km south of Haifa.

On 22-23 May 1948, some 200 unarmed Tantura villagers, mostly young men 13 and older, were shot dead after the village had surrendered following the onslaught of Haganah troops. Katz taped testimonies from Palestinian witnesses and Jewish soldiers. Without the soldiers' corroboration, even the *Ma'ariv* article would not have been taken so seriously.

Other documents have since confirmed the facts. A document from the Alexandroni Brigade to IDF headquarters in June, 1948 notes: "We have tended to the mass grave, and everything is in order." Since then:

- A few veterans recanted their taped testimony and launched a NIS 1m libel suit against Katz.
- The sole lawyers who would defend him came from a Palestinian legal-services NGO, Adalah.
- Under "enormous pressures," Katz "apologized"; "the agreement is so sweeping as to bear an uncomfortable resemblance to a police "confession" extracted under dubious conditions. The judge refused to allow Katz to withdraw his retraction. The case is before a higher court.
- Haifa University spearheaded a crusade against Katz, refusing to offer legal, moral, or practical support against the lawsuit, and summarily removing his name was from a list of putative honourees.
- In January 2001, the Haifa Technion University authorised its president to expel students and lecturers involved in political activity on campus.
- In 2002 Haifa University ordered a trial of Prof Dr. Ilan Pappé, author of The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1951, for his political beliefs. In an open letter, the historian said it "demand(s) my expulsion from the university due to the positions I have taken on the Katz affair. It calls upon the court 'to judge Dr. Pappé on the offences he has committed and to use to the full the court's legal authority to expel him from the university.' These offences are in a nutshell my past critique of the university's conduct in the Katz affair...

"My intent to teach a course on the *Nakbah* next year and my support for (the academic) boycott on Israel has led the university to the conclusion that I can only be stopped by expulsion." *Editorial staff* ■

Ilan Pappé, "The Tantura Case In Israel: The Katz Research and Trial". *Journal of Palestinian Studies.* Vol XXX, No. 3, Spring 2001, Issue 119. www.ipsjps.org/jps/119/pappe.html

Reclaiming history

BY ANDREW I. KILLGORE

This article, first published 12 yars ago in the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (March 1990) is a timely reminder of the Israeli history of attacking Palestinians to achieve its own strategic ambitions.

We shall spirit the penniless population (Palestinians) across the border... the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly.
Theodor Herzl, father of Political Zionism (*Diary,* Vol. II, page 24, 1898)

Palestine will be as Jewish as England is English.
Chaim Weizmann, first President of Israel (From *Trial and Error,* his autobiography)

The high-ranking UN official could hardly believe his eyes. At least 35,000 Palestinian residents of the huge West Bank refugee camps of Aqabat Jabr and Ein Sultan near Jericho were missing. As he drove by the just-destroyed camps, he could see only a handful of people picking through the rubble.

Dr. Laurence Michelmore, the American Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA), knew that refugees had poured from the West Bank into Jordan after the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli war on June 5, 1967. Still, it was bewildering only a week later, on June 12, to see the normally bustling camps silent and empty in the hot Jericho sun.

A Second Exodus

Michelmore already realized that UNRWA faced the staggering task of caring for more than 200,000 "new" refugees who comprised 1967's "second exodus" from Palestine. More than one-fifth of the inhabitants had fled when Israeli soldiers seized East Jerusalem and the West Bank during six days of fighting. They joined the 750,000 refugees from the first exodus of 1948-1949, who were already overtaxing available UNRWA resources.

The brutal Israeli Army tactics which triggered the little-known "second exodus" from Palestine, emptying such camps as Aqabat Jabr and Ein Sultan, may be repeated in further mass expulsions in the 1990s. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has said publicly that Israel needs the West Bank for Soviet Jews. Does a third exodus to "cleanse" the West Bank and Gaza Strip entirely of Palestinians lie ahead? And then will Israeli extremists like Rabbi Meir Kahane have their way and set off a fourth exodus to "clean" 800,000 Palestinians from Israel proper, and finally realize the dream of Dr. Chaim Weizmann?

Israel's tactics in expelling or terrorizing 750,000 Palestinians into fleeing their homes in the "first exodus" of 1948 and 1949 are by now fairly well known. The deliberate brutality employed to drive away another 200,000 Palestinians in 1967 is known to hardly anyone except the Palestinians themselves.

It began as soon as Israeli forces reached the Jordan Valley in June 1967. Israeli bulldozers immediately began destroying the camps there. Remaining residents had to flee to avoid being buried in the rubble of their homes. Israeli planes thundered over them at low level, contributing to their panic. As Israeli loudspeakers boomed, "Go to King Hussein," hundreds of trucks lined up to transport the terror-stricken refugees to the Jordan River's shattered bridges.

Ruthless behavior by Israeli forces is documented by UNRWA sources in the monograph, River Without Bridges, by Peter Dodd and Halim Barakat, and an article by Barakat in *International Migration Review* [1973] entitled, The Palestinian Refugees: An Uprooted Community Seeking Repatriation.

Looting, destruction of houses, detention of male civilians, deliberate shaming of old people and women and the killing of "suspect" persons were all employed, not only in the Jordan Valley but elsewhere in the West Bank. Palestinian villages near the Latrun salient were treated with special ferocity. Villagers who left for a few hours to escape cannon fire came back to see red soil and departing Israeli bulldozers where their houses had been. One distraught woman scooped up a pillow and carried it away, thinking at first it was her small daughter.

A Repeat of 1948?

All of the new refugees of 1967 had heard of, and some had personally experienced, the cruel and ruthless behavior of Israeli forces in 1947 and 1948. Some feared the terrible fate of Deir Yassin, a village near Jerusalem where, in April 1948, after an artillery bombardment by the Haganah regulars who became the Israeli army after the state's creation a month later, Jewish irregular forces of Menachem Begin's Irgun Zvai Leumi and Yitzhak Shamir's Lehi (Stern Gang) massacred 250 Palestinian men, women and children. The fears of mothers among the refugees fleeing such villages were so acute that they covered their children's mouths to keep them from crying and being discovered and killed by the Israeli soldiers.

After the 1967 fighting ended, some 175,000 victims of the second exodus applied to return from their refuge in Jordan to their homes in the West Bank. To signal good intentions to the world, Israel readmitted 14,000. Such repatriations suddenly stopped, however, revealing the true intentions of an Israel unshakably determined to rid itself of all Palestinians.

A Study in Madness

A planned Palestinian Exodus III failed in 1982 when Israel's war in Lebanon went awry. That war, a four-step study in madness, was "fathered" by General Ariel Sharon, already known as "The Butcher" for his earlier atrocities against Palestinians. Its purposes were to: [1] defeat the Syrian Army; [2] terrorize the 400,000 Palestinians in Lebanon into fleeing across Syria to Jordan; [3] bring down King Hussein; and [4] expel the (then) 900,000 West Bank Palestinians into Jordan to form what Israel would claim was the Palestinian state.

But Syria managed to avoid defeat and held fast in the Beka'a Valley. Nor did the Palestinians flee, despite Israel's massacre, using Maronite militiamen proxies, of an estimated 1,500 Palestinian men, women and children in Beirut's Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

Israeli forces also killed 20,000 Lebanese and Palestinians, in the course of linking up with Maronite militias to surround and besiege West Beirut. When they eventually pulled back from most of Lebanon, after suffering light losses in manpower and heavy losses in world opinion and self esteem, King Hussein was still on his throne, and the West Bankers were still in their ancient homeland.

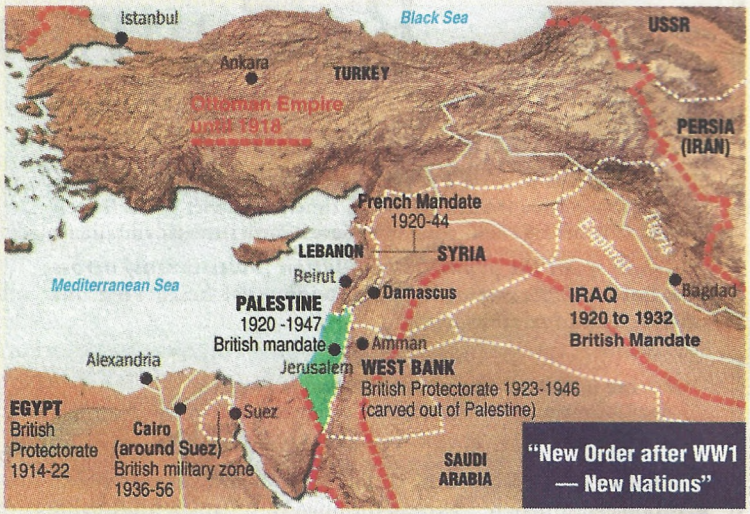
Evidence abounds, however, that Israel still intends to make Palestine as Jewish as England is English. Inhuman expulsions of Palestinians in technical violation of Israel's "residency" requirements for the West Bank continue.

Although these are still relatively small, mass expulsions will be an immediate danger if Ariel Sharon becomes Prime Minister of Israel. Not only does he share the determination of Israeli extremists to create an all Jewish Israel, his 1982 misadventure in Lebanon demonstrates that Sharon is fanatical enough to resort to genocide to carry it out. ■

■ *Andrew Killgore, a former US ambassador to the state of Qatar, is publisher of the* Washington Report on Middle East Affairs

BACKGROUND PHOTOGRAPH BY UNWRA OF A PALESTINIAN REFUGEE MOTHER AND CHILD AT THE SWEDISH HEALTH CENTRE IN GAZA

▲ **The Arab World (1914). On the eve of World War I, the region is all divided up amongst the Ottoman, British, French and Italian empires. The Ottoman Empire allied with Germany, which had interests in Africa. Only a few states had gained their independence.**

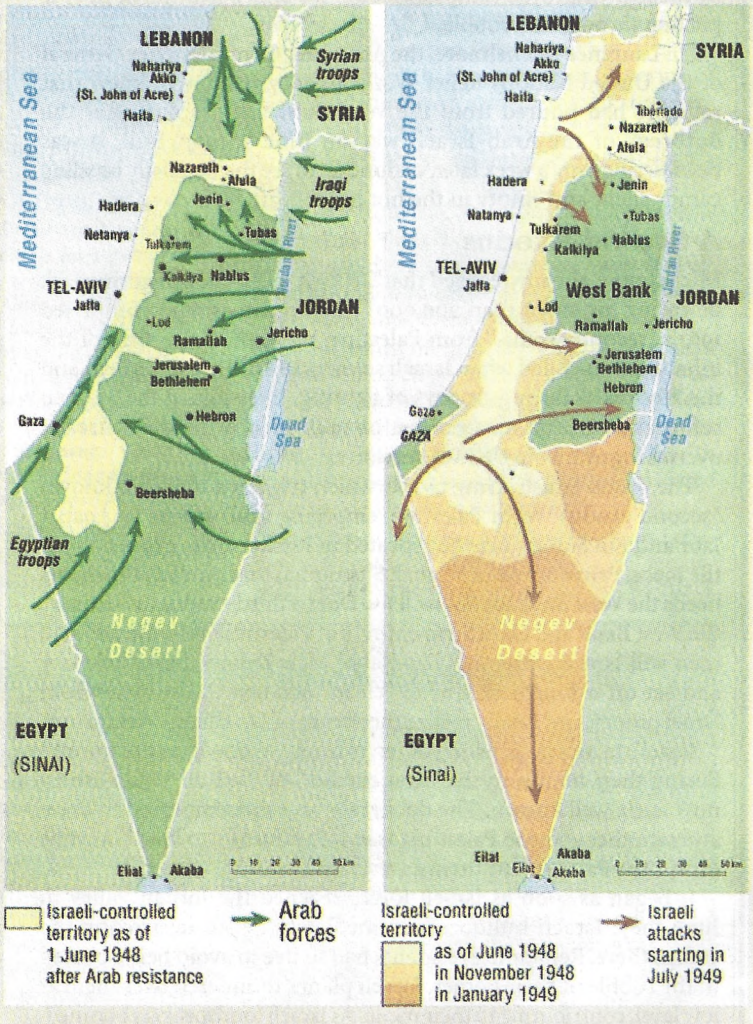


▲ **The Middle East (1914 to 1947). The victorious European powers redivide the region amongst themselves at the Paris Peace Conference.**

▲ **The Arab World (1939). On the eve of World War II, Britain, France and Italy administer most of the region as colonies or mandates. Turkey and Iran are independent.**

▶ **The Partition of Palestine (1947-49). The UN partition plan of 29 November 1947 arbitrarily divides Palestine into a Zionist and an Arab state. The first Arab-Israeli war (1948-49) enables the victorious state of Israel to enlarge its territory.**

All maps unless otherwise noted are from originals created by Philippe Rekacewicz and from the invaluable map section of the website of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Paris (http://MondeDiplo.com/maps). They have been translated into English, edited and modified for this publication.

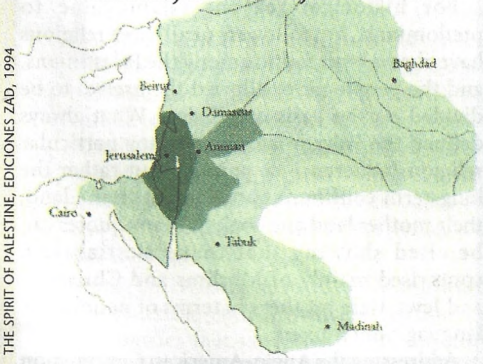


▲ **The First Arab-Israeli War (1948-49). Zionist armed forces attack into the UN partition assigned the Palestinians. Arab forces (green arrows) then entered the UN partitition to defend the new All-Palestine government but, significantly, they do not encroach on the partitioned area assigned the Zionist state by the UN. Continuous assaults against Palestinian towns – each launched with a major massacre – by the Haganah-Irgun-Stern forces enables the new state of Israel to greatly extend its territory – southwards into the Negev desert, eastwards as far as the Dead Sea, and northwards up to the Lebanese border at the expense of the Palestinians.**

▲ **Occupation of Sinai (1956).** Israel, France and Britain attack Egypt in October-November 1956 following its nationalisation of the Suez Canal. Israel occupies Sinai, expanding its territory. *(Middle)* **Six Day War (1967).** Israel attacks Egypt on 5 June 1967, occupying Sinai, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. *(Far right)* **October War (1973).** Egyptian and Syria, after Israeli provocations, attack to reconquer the territories under Israeli occupation since 1967.

Greater Israel

'Location, location, location...'



THE SPIRIT OF PALESTINE, EDICIONES ZAD, 1994

'From the Nile to the Euphrates'

The biblical concept of 'Greater Israel' has well served the expansionist aspirations of political Zionism, stimulating funding and immigration to Israel while sanctifying what would otherwise be seen as blatant aggression towards their neighbours. Loosely based on descriptions of Greater Israel referred to in the Old Testament, different areas have been designated as *Eretz Israel* at different times, to fit the political climate and specific objectives of the period. A map of Eretz Israel even hangs on the walls of the Knesset (parliament).

The most quoted Biblical interpretation, "from the Egyptian River to the Euphrates" (Genesis 15:18-21), encompasses most of the Middle East, including Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, most of Iraq and parts of Turkey, Egypt and, by some interpretations, Saudi Arabia.

Three concepts of Greater Israel

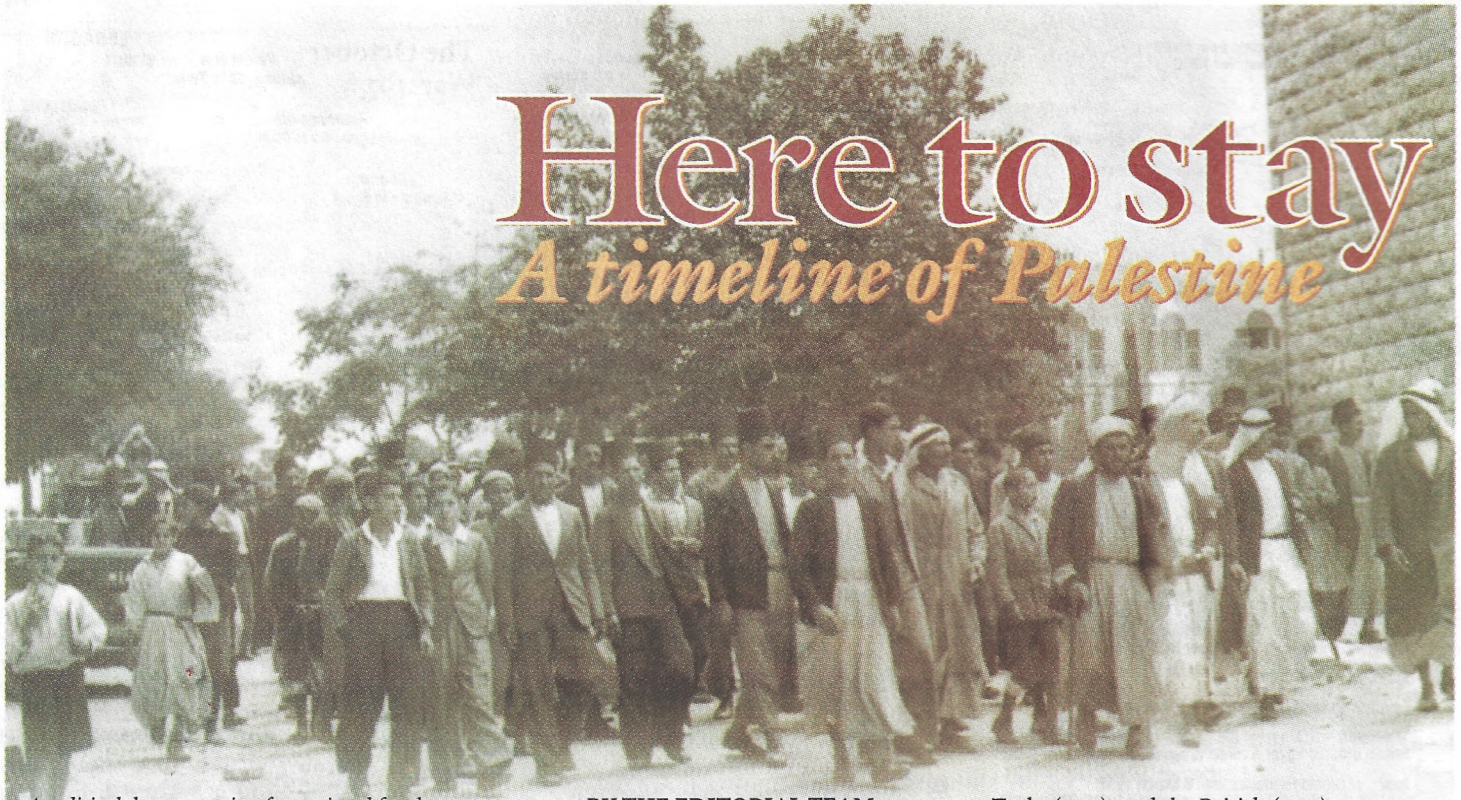
World Zionist Organisation. The official plan for the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine submitted to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919: "Starting in the north at a point on the Mediterranean Sea in the vicinity south of Sidon and then following the watersheds of the foothills of Lebanon as far as Jist El Karaon, thence to El Bire, following the dividing line between the two basins of the Wadi El Korn and the Wadi El Teim, thence in a southerly direction following the dividing line between the eastern and western slopes of the Hermon, to the vicinity west of Beit-Jenn, thence eastward following the northern watersheds of the Naahr Maghaniye close to the west of the Hejaz railway. In the east a line close to, and to the west of the Hejaz railway, terminating in the Gulf of Aqaba. In the west the Mediterranean Sea."

Jewish National Military Organization of Eretz Israel – the Irgun terrorist group. It included Palestine and Transjordan in their politically expedient conception of *Eretz Israel* in 1946, referred to as "The Sole Solution" in one of its posters. (see p. 64)

The Zionist Empire. According to the research of the Sheikh Abu'l Ala Maududi, the Zionist conception of the limits of *Eretz Israel* could extend as far as Madinah and include "the whole of Syria, the whole of Lebanon, the whole of Jordan and almost the entire area of Iraq, in addition to Iskenderun from Turkey, Sinai and the Delta area from Egypt and the upper Hejaz and Najd from Saudi Arabia, which also includes Madinah.' (Tafhim al-Qurun, Lahore, 1966 Vol. IV, p. 166)

Here to stay

A timeline of Palestine



▲ *A political demonstration for national freedom during the Great Revolt of 1936-38 marches on the Land Registry office (at far right, foreground)*

Historical Palestine 42

1890s-1948. Political Zionism and Arab nationalism 43

Secret diplomacy of the great powers; Touching up history

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Arms and the Israelis

BY THE EDITORIAL TEAM

This timeline seeks to bring to the fore the most important events related to the question of Palestine in both a regional and international context. Imperialism was and remains the main obstacle to the aspirations for freedom and independence. While it is the people who make history, they do so under conditions not of their choosing but given to them from the past. In the conditions of the Ottoman Empire, a feudal system decaying amidst the rise of monopoly capitalism, this past was complex. The purpose of this chronological map is to explore these underlying, long-term forces shaping Palestine and Israel. We think this especially important in the light of the anti-historical consciousness spread by media reportage and its anti-Arab bias.

Historical Palestine

Today's Palestinians are the descendants of the Amorites, Canaanites, Jebusites, Philistines and other tribes who have lived in this land since history began.

Professor Maxime Rodinson, a Jewish professor of history at the Sorbonne University in Paris, states: "The Arab population of Palestine was native in all the senses of the word and their roots in Palestine can be traced back at least forty centuries." (Israel and the Arabs, New York: Penguin, 1968)

Throughout history, the people of Palestine have resisted every foreign invader, including the Hebrew tribes (1000 BCE), the Assyrians (722 BCE), the Babylonians (586 BCE), the Persians (538 BCE), the Greeks (332 BCE), the Romans (64 BCE), the Persians under Khosru II (614), the Muslims (638), the Crusaders (1099 – defeated and expelled in 1187 by Saladin), the Ottoman Turks (1517), and the British (1917).

Jerusalem was built by the Amorites around 2000 BCE and known initially as Urusalem, after the Amorite prince Salem. In subsequent periods and times, special significance was attached to particular sites there by the Jewish, Christian and Islamic religions. These include the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other well-known sites at Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth associated with the life of Christ, the Western or "Wailing" Wall (the last remnant of the Jewish temple first destroyed by the Romans during the Jewish Wars in 70 and finally destroyed by order of Roman Emperor Hadrian in 138), the al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock built in 688 by Umayyad Caliph Abdul-Malik ibn Marwan, etc.

For historical reasons Islam came to predominate, but followers of all three religions have always been found among the Palestinians, and the people never allowed themselves to be divided on the basis of religion. What always defined the Palestinian was not any particular religious adherence or practice, but rather the long-term continuous attachment to the land, their mother land and society. Many quotes can be cited showing that that Palestianians, comprised mainly of Muslims and Christians and Jews, were brothers in terms of nationality, language and interest.

Addressing the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine in 1946, Chaim Weizmann, head of the World Zionist Organisation and first president of the future State of Israel, acknowledged that Islamic society did not victimise the Jew: "I would not like to do any injustice. The Muslim world has treated the Jews with considerable tolerance. The Ottoman Empire (of which the Arabs were a large part) received the Jews with open arms when they were driven out of Spain and Europe, and the Jews should never forget that."

1890s–1948. Political Zionism, Arab nationalism

Demanding a Jewish state in Palestine, Political Zionism emerges, inextricably bound up with European imperialism. Theodor Herzl, its father, courts various patrons. He negotiates with representatives of Tsarist Russia, Germany, Britain, Italy and the Ottoman Empire. Zionism becomes adopted by the great powers for their own ends. Inevitably, ever-greater Palestinian organization, resistance and nationality assert themselves in response as well as to the strangulation of Ottoman rule. This forms part of an overall Arabic revival – including concern for language and culture, history, democracy, popular education and women, as well as a revival of Islam. The Palestinian upsurge demonstrates that the modern Palestinian resistance, as epitomised by the PLO, did not emerge out of nowhere, but was rather an extension of a national movement that appeared in embryonic form toward the end of the Ottoman era. It showed an awareness of the dangers posed by the self-serving interests of Russia, Britain, France and Germany in the Middle East in using the Zionist movement against Palestine for their own ends.

1840s-1895

1841: The social cohesiveness and stability of Palestine – the 20,000 Jews of Jerusalem are wholly integrated and accepted in Palestinian society – leads Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary, when Britain convinced the Ottoman Empire to allow them to establish a consulate in Jerusalem, to propose the founding of a European Jewish settler colony – similar to the British plantations in Ireland – to "preserve the larger interests of the British Empire."

1882: Rothschild initiates Jewish plantations.

1886: A group of peasants, pushed into a corner by the loss of their land, attack Zionist colonists at Al-Khdirah and Petah Tikvah. This resistance broadens to include shopkeepers and artisans, mainly Christian.

1891: Jewish Colonization Association (JAC) forms. It begins operations in Palestine in 1896.

1896: Theodore Herzl sets forth a plan for inducing the Ottoman Empire to grant Palestine to the Zionists: "Supposing his Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine; we could, in return, undertake to regulate the finances of Turkey. *We should there form an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism.*" (emphasis added) Such despicable views – typifying the Zionist and Israeli outlook about Palestinians to the present – express the racism which was being integrated into colonialism and imperialism.

'We strongly disapprove'

1897: 1st Zionist Congress, organised by Herzl in opposition to the chief rabbis of many West European Jewish communities, launches the World Zionist Organization (WZO) and adopts the "Basle Program" for settling Jews in Palestine.

A Jewish conference in Montreal passes the following resolution: "We strongly disapprove of every initiative aimed at the creation of a Jewish state. Attempts of this kind clearly show a false concept of Israel's mission. We assert the goal of Judaism is neither political, nor national but spiritual and that its purpose is to promote peace, justice and love among men."

Resistance against Zionist immigration and land expropriation for the purpose of agricultural settlement in Palestine increases dramatically, especially amongst farmers. Albert Antebi, JAC representative in Jerusalem, observes (1899) that the program has adversely affected relations between Palestinians and Jewish immigrants. Herzl sends letter to the Palestinian Mayor of Jerusalem hinting that, if Zionists are not welcomed in Palestine, they will go elsewhere.

'Imperial interests'

1900: WZO founds Jewish National Fund to acquire land in Palestine which can neither be worked by, nor subsequently sold to non-Jews – its mission to date.

Many petitions, in which Palestinians express strong opposition to Zionist expropriation of land, including Jerusalem. JCA's Antebi observes (1902) that "the ill will of the local population coincides with the creation of Zionism".

1902 – Herzl argues before a Royal Commission:

> Support of Zionism would not only spare the British Government the distasteful necessity of imposing immigration restrictions against growing numbers of Eastern Jews, but would also serve British imperial interests.

The first international exploitation of oil in the ME after British discovery at Masjid-i Sulayman, Persia: the Anglo-Persian oil company is established. Britain controls Persia except for the mountainous north (which came under Russian domination, in accordance with a 1907 agreement between Britain and Russia). Tsarist Russia seeks to use Jewish immigration to Ottoman regions to incite trouble so as to intervene, and Britain to use Zionist immigration to Palestine to split Syria, Lebanon and Egypt.

1903 – 1st Palestinian women's organization founded in Acre; wave of Zionist immigration.

1905: The 7th WZO Congress is terrified that the Palestinian people are organizing a political movement for national independence from the Ottoman Empire – a threat to Turkish rule and Zionist designs. It rejects the East Africa scheme for Jewish colonies, and makes overtures to Imperial Germany for a Jewish state under the auspices of the Ottomans.

By WWI, a parallel track of collaboration with British imperial interests dominates. Weizmann argues in 1914 that such a state would "form a very effective guard for the Suez Canal."

1907: First kibbutz, based on exclusively Jewish labour, established.

1909: Tel Aviv is founded north of Jaffa as the first all Jewish urban centre.

1914-18 – A war for global redivision

World War I, waged by the capitalists of all countries – Germany, Britain, Russia, etc. – for resources, transportation routes and markets. It redivided the world, and further subjugated the weak nations. The belligerent governments promised "peace without annexations", then carved up these nations by secret predatory treaties. It is the first 'total war' and

▲ *A land with a people: children with pottery of traditional design in Ramleh in the 1890s*

In the 1880s the population of Palestine is about 500,000. This includes 47,000 of Jewish origin, some indigenous, the rest religious immigrants.

There are over 1,000 Palestinian villages with many flourishing towns in a semi-feudal agrarian society with extensive irrigation.

The citrus orchards (the famed Jaffa orange), olive groves and grains were known around the world as was the soap manufactured from pure olive oil in such cities as Nablus and Jaffa. The livelihood of its inhabitants was based mainly on land, the greatest portion of which is owned by a small number of wealthy and influential families and local leaders.

▲ *A soap factory, Nablus, 1927*

The peasants constitute the largest portion of the population.

Suez... Rothschild... Shell... Balfour...

The Suez Canal opened in 1869. By the early 1880s, Rothschild banking interests, based since the 17th century in Germany, France and Britain, had acquired effective control of the Suez Canal. Starting in 1882 they also began sponsoring Jewish colonisation schemes in Palestine.

This was launched at the very moment Britain occupied Egypt (including Cairo and the Nile as far as the Sudan) – banishing the Egyptian nationalist leader Arabi Pasha to Ceylon after suppressing the rebellion he led against the British in Alexandria – to secure their control of the canal. British concern to control such a vital link to its empire in India is seen in the rise of English shipping tonnage through its locks almost 10 times between 1870 and 1880, from 309,560 to 3,040,800 tons. A large and growing portion of this traffic was oil being brought in tankers from the Dutch East Indies, by Shell Oil, controlled by the Samuel brothers from a prominent London Jewish banking family.

The essential role of oil for contemporary industry meant Shell, the Colonial Office and the Rothschilds acquired a stranglehold over both the sustainability and even the possibility of industrial development across a wide swath of Europe as well as in Asia and (for the future) in India and Africa as well. ■

some 12 million people die for the sake of profit. Throughout the 20th century, war became the main means of the big powers for settling economic, political and social conflicts, unleashed on an unprecedented scale on every continent.

1915: Hussein-McMahon Agreement – In return for support of the Arab Congress for the rest of WWI, Britain promises Arab peoples complete independence.

1916: (16 Jun) Arab revolt against Ottoman rule. 9 May: Britain promises France part of ME.

1917: (2 Nov) **The Balfour Declaration** – Lord Balfour, British foreign secretary, states British policy regarding a Jewish "national home" in Palestine in a letter to Lord Rothschild:

His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The two British moves of 1916 and 1917 contra-

Birth of the Palestine National Movement

The national movement among the Palestinians emerged in parallel with similar movements at the end of the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire. It was dying the death of a thousand cuts as European powers dickered over how to carve out the juiciest bits of the carcass for themselves.

AL AHRAM, CAIRO

▲ *A typical poster of the time*

▲ *Najib Nassar*

The Palestinian and Arab national struggle for independence is characterized by self-awareness and class-consciousness, whose embryonic form emerges as early as 1845. James Fenn, British Consul in Jerusalem, reports to the British Ambassador in Constantinople, pointing to the fact that the Palestinian Arabs are displaying political consciousness in its early stages. Fenn writes to British Ambassador David Clarendon, stating that some of the Arabs did not respect the Ottomans and consider them invaders and robbers of the Caliphate. (3/8/54) He later indicates, in an letter to Ambassador Malisbury, that the Palestinian Arabs are familiar with the word 'independence', which, in this period, they associate with their sought-after independence from the Ottoman Empire. (13/9/58)

Between the late 1850s and the 1880s, the British and French, the Tsar of all the Russias, Imperial Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire each sought or seized privileges and concessions from Constantinople. Following the Treaty of San Stefano, various peoples embarked on the road to national independence.

Despite Ottoman repression of the politicized literary, linguistic and secret societies which had emerged by the 1870s, a number of young Arabs formed the *Jam'iyyat Hafez Haqouq Al-Millah Al-Arabiyyah* (the Society for Preserving the Rights of the Arab Millah) in 1881, whose leaders emphasize the need for Christian-Muslim cooperation in the struggle to achieve independence.

Quickening the pace for the Palestinians was the new feature of Zionist colonisation. Religious immigration by Jews to the Holy Land had never been a problem. The exclusivism of the Zionists, on the other hand, raised alarms, while the involvement of the British, with Zionist ambitions, fragmented the Palestinian national movement. There emerged, broadly speaking, an anti-imperialist wing and a compromising wing dominated by prominent, well-established families who sought a *modus vivendi* – first with the Ottomans, then with Britain – and were generally indifferent to the consequences of communal partition and religious sectarianism amongst the Palestinian masses. Yet the Palestinian people, including Christians and many Jews, fought for national freedom, for their economic, cultural and political rights, not for division and partition.

In 1908 the "Young Turks" staged a constitutional coup. Palestinian deputies from Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nablus and Acre were elected to the parliament in Constantinople. They raised the Zionist issue for the first time. But the new government acted vigorously against Arab and Palestinian nationalists with a chauvinist policy of "Turkification" and despotism. They attempted to silence all voices calling for independence and liberty. Illusions were short-lived.

In 1909 the *Al-Karmel* newspaper of Najib Nassar in Haifa urged Palestinian action to resist Zionist encroachment. Nassar also published a book revealing the basis, structure and deceptive means Zionists were using to achieve their goals. He accused the Ottoman Empire of failing to live up to its responsibilities toward the Palestinians, emphasizing that they had not been active in preventing Zionist inroads into Palestine.

In 1911 Issa Al-Issa founded the *Filistine* newspaper in Jaffa. As an Arab nationalist, he saw the question of Palestine as vital to the broader Arab nationalist movement. He translated and published The Zionist Political Program, a book warning of the consequences of colonisation schemes. Both newspapers cooperated, while continuing to represent different tendencies.

By this time, political movements as vehicles for expressing the Palestinian national idea were also coalescing. *Al-Hizb Al-Watani* (the National Party) exemplified the trend of local politics and patriotism that existed in Palestine. The party's goals included resistance to Zionism, through demands to the Ottomans to legally enact and enforce laws prohibiting immigration and enlightening the *ummah* (the community of Islamic believers) about the dangers of Zionism. It also considered the need for locating resources as a means for economically developing Palestine.

In March, 1911 representatives of Palestine in the parliament initiated the 'Arab Representatives Bloc' together with the Albanians, Armenians and some Turks, and form The Freedom and Coalition Party *(Hizb Al-Hurriyah Wal-I'Tilaf)*, with the goal of administrative independence to various nationalities in the Empire. In 1912 they organized the first full-scale debate on Zionist immigration.

However, although the Albanians (1912) – followed by the alliance of the Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians (1913) – rose up, expelled Turkey from the Balkans and seized their independence "arms in hand," the Zionist threat with its British backing and the complicity of the Ottomans, deepened existing divisions among the Arabs and Palestinians over program, strategy and tactics, seriously retarding the movement's progress as the war clouds gather throughout Europe.

On 21 June 1913, the first Arab National Congress convened in Paris, attempting to form a unified political entity. Their inability to convene such an event inside the Arab world proper would prove fateful. Most delegates were from Greater Syria. The main demands concerned recognition of Arabs, as part of the awakening of the awakening of the Arab *ummah*, and demands for decentralized, regional autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, including language rights. The Palestinian question, however, was marginalized, the dangers of Zionism ignored, and negotiations with the Zionists for a common front against the Ottomans was seriously entertained.

Filistine and *Al-Karmel* both considered the Congress "bankrupt," the latter editorialising: "Should we allow the Zionists to revive their nationalism at the expense of our nationalism? Have we agreed upon selling them our land piece by piece until they expel us from our land in groups and on an individual basis?"

At the call of *Al-Karmel*, a non-Zionist congress was held in Nablus during August, 1913 to counter the the 11th World Zionist Congress. Delegates called upon the Ottomans to put an end to selling the land by open auctions. The government, delegates said, should have been selling "land to the tiller" – to the farmer who would cultivate it, with easy finacing terms – instead of facilitating Zionist appropriation of the land.

The Zionism Resistance Society *(Jam'iyyat Mukafahat As-Sahyuniyyah)* formed with headquarters in Nablus and branches in various Palestinian cities, encouraged mass demonstrations to protest open-auction land sales.

Thus was the rise of Palestinian national resistance, like Arab nationalism general, rooted internally in objective conditions. Achieving this lofty aim would entail depriving the old social classes in the Arab East of their influence. The early organisational efforts were plagued by the influence of ambiguous stands adopted and popularised by leaders from these compromised strata. As a result, with the coming of the war, it would fall upon the shoulders of the Palestinians to steadfastly resist British imperialism and Zionism on their own. (Source: Arab Nationalism and the Palestinians, PASSIA) — *Editorial Staff* ■

dict its clear and specific written promises to the Arabs. Balfour later supplies the rationale:

In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country ... The four great powers have taken up the Zionist cause. And Zionism, be it just or false, good or bad, is rooted in long-standing traditions, in present needs, and in future hopes that are far more important than the desires or the frustrations of the 700,000 Arabs who live on this ancient land today.

30 Oct: Ottoman surrender to allies in WWI.

Nov: Muslim-Christian Association forms in Jaffa (and another soon after in Jerusalem); both rapidly spread throughout Palestine by 1920.

1919 – Paris Peace Conference

Jan: Versailles. Mandates Britain to govern Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq on the basis that the Ottoman territories should be brought under this system. Large-scale immigration begins.

27 Jan–10 Feb: **1st Palestine Congress** convenes in Jerusalem. It considers Palestine to be part of Syria, sends two memoranda to Versailles, rejecting Balfour Declaration and demanding Arab independence under Faysal. Assembly convenes seven times between 1919 and 1928.

28 Aug: June-July: Henry King and Charles Crane, US members of International Commission of Inquiry, recommend to Allies limited Jewish immigration and giving up the idea of a distinct "Jewish commonwealth".

"At Jerusalem, however, and in all other places in Palestine, the program of independence was affirmed." For "a national home for the Jewish people" is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish State; nor can the erection of such a Jewish State be accomplished without the gravest trespass upon the "civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The fact came out repeatedly in the Commission's conference with Jewish representatives, that the Zionists "looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, by various forms of purchase."

The report's existence is not disclosed until 1922, and not published until 1947. (See also p. 64)

1902: (Apr) British arbitrarily remove Musa Kazim al-Husseini, the mayor of Jerusalem for opposing their pro-Zionist policies.

25 Apr: **San Remo Peace Conference** of Allied Powers endorses French and British "Mandates" over the Levant. Britain will take Palestine, Transjordan and Mesopotamia (renamed Iraq, created out of the Ottoman provinces of Basra, Baghdad and Mosul). Syria and Lebanon are given to France, plus a 25% share in the proceeds of Iraqi oil. This initiates a process of balkanization, communalism and sectarianism: multi-national "countries" carved out of territories without regard to history, culture or the people's wishes – a process whose repercussions still reverberate. The Mandate system protects European interests. It enjoins Britain to implement the Balfour Declaration, under a civil power that will "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage close settlement by Jews on the land."

Far from being some semi-autonomous body under the League of Nations, the Mandate is under the direct power of the British Colonial Office.

May: Britain prevents the convening of the second Palestinian Congress.

Jul: British civil administration in Palestine. The first Zionist underground terror organization, the Haganah, is formed in Tiberias.

13-19 Dec: **3rd Palestinian National Congress,** Haifa, composed of Muslim-Christian Association delegates: it stresses autonomy of Palestinian Arabs in Palestine as a distinct political entity and elects executive committee that steers Palestinian political movement till 1935.

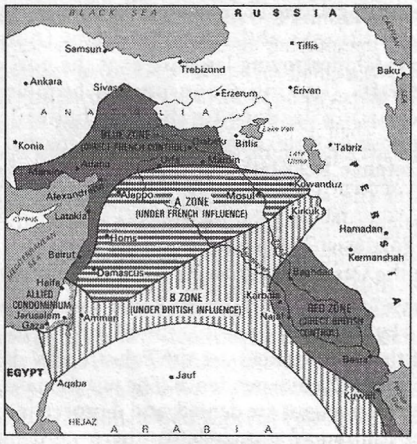
1921 – Government demanded

Palestine comes under British administration as Irish and Indian patriots score telling blows against British military occupation in Belfast and Dublin as well as the Punjab region. In all three countries Britain deepens its "divide and rule" policy through partition, inciting religious divisions and forming puppet agencies along communal lines.

May: Political protests break out in Haifa protesting Zionist mass immigration.

29 May-4 Jun: In response, 4th PNC convenes in Jerusalem, sends Muslim-Christian delegation to London, demanding a national government in Palestine under a Parliament democratically elected by Muslim, Christian and Jewish residents. The Zionists reject secular democracy in favour of communally-based representation. Britain rejects both. (See p. 64)

The secret diplomacy of the great powers



▲ *The Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916, partitioning the Middle East between Britain and France*

On 9 May 1916 Britain and France secretly agreed to disregard the wishes of the Arab peoples, in the event of Allied victory. They would redivide Ottoman territories, giving Syria and Lebanon to France and Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan to Britain, and control of the Dardanelles Strait to Tsarist Russia.

The British objective was the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the seizure of Mesopotamia and Palestine – to secure the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which dominates the oil and mineral resources of those countries – along with the German colonies in Africa and the Pacific, keeping India and Ireland, etc.

The Bolsheviks publicly revealed the existence of all the secret, predatory treaties amongst the great powers after the Russian Revolution. ■

▲ Palestinian women enter the political arena for the first time – the First Palestinian Arab Women's Conference, Jerusalem, 26-29 October 1929, with 300 in attendance, followed by a demonstration to protest British policy. The Committee is primarily from notable Jerusalem families such as the Husseinis, Alamis, Nashashibis, Khouris, and Budeiris. According to *Jerusalem Women's Organizations During the British Mandate, 1920s-1930s (1995)* by Eileen Fleischmann, women living in a society threatened by an alien culture chose to define themselves as nationalists rather than as feminists. The civil sector under the Mandate opened employment opportunities for educated women, who then began to emerge into public life, working, volunteering, and becoming politically active in Palestinian women's organizations during this time. The author shows how these women activists fought fiercely to maintain a Palestinian society threatened by Zionism. (Source: PASSIA)

Balfour & Soviet Jewry

The Balfour Declaration – issued days before the imminent Bolshevik Revolution (7 Nov) – also targeted the sympathy of East European Jews for Bolshevism. Soviet success under Lenin and Stalin in handling problems over nationality, language and the Jewish question without fragmenting or descending into internal civil war won widespread admiration and grudging respect.

In 1934 the Soviet Union announced the creation of an autonomous region in Birobidzhan on the shores of the Amur River on the boundary with Manchuria. The notorious anti-semitism of Tsarist Russia for 600 years, including the Black Hundreds (pogrom squads), was solved. Yiddish was the official language, culture flourished, *e.g.*, books and periodicals were published in the millions of copies. It was explicitly intended as a homeland for Jews from throughout the Soviet Union and, after WWII, they offered to extend this opening to all Jews in Eastern Europe. The international Zionist movement vigorously boycotted and refused to publicize it. After the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, it opposed official language status for Yiddish to keep a *cordon sanitaire* around the then-socialist USSR and Birobidzhan.

With the shift in policy from the time of Khrushchev to Gorbachev, however, these problems reappeared. These leaders replaced a policy that had been based on self-determination with the old tsarist policies of Russification and the incitement of Russian chauvinism and the Soviet Union degenerated. Ultimately it became the biggest supplier of manpower for Israeli colonization of the Palestinian Occupied Territories.

By December, 1990, immigration of Soviet Jews, at 187,000, reached its highest number for one year since the establishment of Israel. ■

May: Britain establishes the Supreme Muslim Council and appoints Haj Mohammed Amin al-Husseini as head.

1922 – The British Mandate begins

World Zionist Organization forms the Jewish Agency to regulate the relationship of Jewish immigrants to Palestine to the outside world; the WZO's Jewish National Fund moves to Jerusalem to oversee the buying up of Palestinian lands.

1 Jul: Second Palestinian delegation to London announces rejection of Balfour Declaration to Colonial Secretary Winston Churchill and demands national independence. The Churchill Memorandum is issued instead, excluding Jordan from the scope of the Balfour Declaration.

24 Jul: The League of Nations grants full authority to Britain, explicitly denying Palestinian rights to self-determination. It governs Palestine as a colonial dictatorship, *e.g.*, the High Commissioner bans literature that would "jeopardise public tranquility" or aim at creating a "state of panic and despair." In practice, it clamps down on views critical of British authority. This begins Palestinian political self-expression directly against the Mandate.

The first British census of Palestine shows a population of 757,182, with 78% Muslim, 11% Jewish and 9.6% Christian.

1923: (29 Sep) British mandate officially begins. From 1924-28, 4th wave of Zionist immigrants (67000) arrives (50% of whom are from Polond). This increases Jewish percentage to 16%, with land ownership up to 4.2 % in 1928).

1924: Al-Nahda Women's Association forms in in Ramallah.

1925: Establishment of Palestinian Workers' Society as a moderate trade union movement.

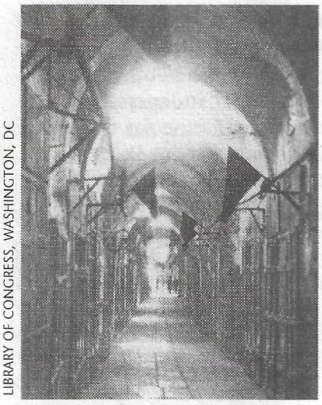
(Mar) The 70-year-old Lord Balfour, at the invitation of the WZO, is brought to Egypt, Palestine and Syria as an organized provocation. Balfour is met by demonstrations and general strikes which shook streets and capitals. In Cairo British troops attack a joint rally of Egyptian and Palestinian students at the train station "with unusual brutality", while the British Minister of War deploys "an armoured cavalry regiment from Egypt to Palestine to quell any disturbances." One protest sent to *Al Ahram* newspaper in Cairo decried the "freedom and liberty you have destroyed with your reprehensible declaration," adding that Balfour's arrival "will only augment the Palestinians' devotion to their country."

1927: British strike oil at Kirkuk, Iraq, largest find in the world.

1928: The **Red Line Agreement** gives the Iraq Petroleum Company oil-drilling rights in every part of the Ottoman Empire (except Iran and Kuwait). It excludes the Standard Oil Group (US).

Nov: First provocation by a few Zionist leaders to change "status quo" at Wailing Wall, also a Muslim holy site. People are outraged at this attack, but this is manipulated for communal purposes by the Mufti of Jerusalem for fear of losing any credibility.

1929: (28-29 Aug) Palestinian indignation against the colonization of their land, breaks out into protests. Uprising in several towns in reaction to militant Zionist provocations at Wailing Wall. High death total among both Arabs and Jews.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, DC

▲ *A general strike in Jerusalem on 2 November 1929 – 12th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. Black flags are hung out in mourning.*

The crackdown by British troops imported from Egypt is bloody, directed at the Palestinians.

Stock market crash, followed by the Great Depression. By decade's end, 100,000 Jewish immigrants have reached Palestine. (The influx peaked in 1924-1926 but later declined.)

1930

Shaw Commission of Inquiry attributes 1929 disturbances to Palestinian fears of Jewish immigration "not only as a menace to their livelihood but as a possible overlord of the future".

Oct: Lord Passfield, Colonial Secretary, issues a White Paper, an investigation of the "immediate causes" of the riots, stating that Jewish immigration and land purchases should stop due to lack of available land. The White Paper condemns unrestricted Jewish immigration as disruptive and detrimental to the interests of the population as a whole. Nevertheless, following strong Zionist protests, Labour PM Ramsay MacDonald sends Chaim Weizman a 'Black Letter' a few months later (13/2/31), nullifying the clauses of the White Paper.

1932: Beginnings of international oil exploitation in the Persian Gulf.

Jan: Nationalist Arab Youth meet in Jaffa.

2 Aug: Formation of Independence (Istiqlal) Party as first regularly constituted Palestinian political party.

1933

The Nazis come to power, Jewish persecution becomes German state policy, and Jewish immigration to Palestine rises after Canada, the US and Germany's neighbours refuse entry. Some 232,000 emigrants arrive during the 1930s and, by 1939, they number more than 445,000, *i.e.*, 30% of the total population as opposed to 10% in 1919.

Land purchases make very slow headway so, by 1931, the Zionists evict and drive out 20,000 peasant families by means of terror.

The British promote the destabilization of the indigenous economy. The Mandate grants a privileged status to Jewish capital, awarding it 90% of the concessions. While foreign (mainly British) capital is decisive, the Zionists nestle under their umbrella, gaining control of local economic infrastructure (road projects, Dead Sea minerals, electricity, the strategic ports, etc.). By 1935, they control 872 of a total of 1,212 industrial firms in Palestine. The British exempt Zionist industrial imports from taxes. They pass discriminatory work laws against the Palestinian work-force, resulting in large scale unemployment and a substandard existence for those able to find work.

Oct: Arab Executive Committee calls for general strike to protest British pro-Zionist policies.

1934: (4 Nov) National Defence Party (al-Hizb al-Difa'a al-Watani) forms in Jerusalem.

1935: (27 Mar: The Palestine Arab Party (al-Hizb al-Arabi al-Filastini) forms in Jerusalem. (23 Jun) Announcement of The Reform Party (al-Hizb al-Islah) in Jenin. (5 Oct) The National Bloc (al-Kutlah al-Wataniyah) forms in Nablus.

Oct: Haganah dissidents form the Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organisation); Jabotinsky named Commander-in-Chief.

Nov: Sheikh Izz Eddin al-Qassam leads the first Palestinian unit resisting British policies and dies in a battle with its forces near Jenin.

1936-39 – The Great Arab Revolt

Arab Women's Organization forms in Jenin.

Apr: The Irgun terror gang re-organizes and calls for start of raids against Palestinians. It begins killing civilians at random on 7 April.

A new union of Palestinian political parties is formed – the **Arab Higher Committee**, led by the Mufti of Jerusalem, Al Haj Amin Husseini.

16-18 Apr: Revolts all over Palestine, largest confrontations in Jaffa. (20-30 Apr) National Committees established in all Palestinian towns and large villages. Great Rebellion begins. On 7 May, a conference of all national committees attended by 150 delegates, representing all sectors of the population, calls a 6-month political strike (no taxation without representation), demanding a national government and suppression of Zionist immigration.

The British respond by providing professional military training, officers and arms to Zionist gangs, legalizing collective punishments (home demolitions) and state terrorism (human shields), destroying large parts of the port city of Jaffa (leaving 6,000 people homeless), deporting leaders to the Seychelles, and imposing a state of emergency under martial law **(Defence Regulations)** that remains in force after the state of emergency is lifted. (The Defence Regulations become the administrative regulations and justification for Israel after 1967 in the Occupied Territories – 30 years later.)

1937: (7 Jul) The **Palestine Royal Commission,** led by Lord Peel, finds that the underlying causes of the disturbances are the Palestinians' desire for national independence. The just demands of the Palestinians are denied, and it proceeds from the communal approach that there was no hope of any cooperative national entity comprised of Arabs and Jews, and that both sides could not live in peace together in one state. It thus recommends partition, converting Palestine into a religious or Jewish State aside an Arab State incorporated into Transjordan, and placing Jerusalem and Bethlehem under the Mandate. The Jews, who at the time owned only 5.6% of Palestine, were to be given 33% of the country, from which Peel suggested that the Palestinian inhabitants could be expelled. 225,000 Arabs would be transferred out of the 20% of the country it earmarks for Jewish sovereignty (and the handful of Jews, some 1,250, living in the Arab areas be transferred to the Jewish state). A "clean and final" solution of the Palestine problem necessitated transfer, the commission ruled.

The Arab Higher Committee rejects the Peel Report (7/37) and calls for Independence of

whole Palestine with protection for the rights of all regardless of religious affiliation and background as well as the British interests.

The British replace Governors with an army general, proscribe the AHC and all Palestinian politican organizations (10/37), and form military courts (11/37) to smash the revolution. Sadhij Nassar (wife of the editor-publisher of *Al-Karmel*) is first woman arrested (23/2/39) under Emergency Regulations, and held for 18 months.

❑ Britain ultimately sends 20,000 troops to quell the revolt. The Palestinians capture several cities, shaking British "democratic" rule. In 1938, the Mandate imprisons 5,000; 2,000 receive long prison terms; another 148 are hanged; and over 5,000 homes are demolished.

❑ The MacDonald White Paper of the British Govt (17/5/39) disclaims any intention to create a Jewish state, places restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchase and envisages an independent state in Palestine within ten years. It prepares for the outbreak of German attack in Europe by attempting to rebuild bridges to the Arab and Palestinian leadership.

It is rejected by the Zionists, whose terrorist groups launch a bloody campaign against the British and the Palestinians with the aim of paving the way for the establishment of the Zionist state by driving both of them out of Palestine.

There is broad support for Palestinian national aims, but the combined pressure of the British and Zionist armed movement prevail over the movement's limitations including internal factionalism and readiness to compromise with the British. During the Mandate (1922-1947) some 50,000 Palestinians are killed and thousands more interned in prisons and detention camps, including hundreds of local political leaders. The deportation and internment of Palestinian leaders by British colonialism arrested the people's ability to resist the armed assault of the Zionists, with catastrophic results in 1947-48.

❑ National historiography of the Palestinian cause emerges. Eissa Al-Safari's *Arab Palestine from the Mandate to Zionism*, published in 1938, is the first work to establish clearly that the Palestinian cause is the product of two factors: the imposition of the British Mandate and the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration. He concludes that the most important consequence of the revolt is the expansion of the Palestinian cause from a local to a universal Arab issue.

❑ The failure of the Palestinian uprising from 1936 to 1939 is inevitable, argues Abdel Wahab Al-Kiali in *Modern History of Palestine* (1970). The author cites several reasons. Firstly, the balance of forces are heavily in favour of the Zionists as a result of the fragmentation of the Arabs and the subordination of Arab governments to colonial powers. Secondly, the Palestinian leadership is narrow-minded and lacking in foresight and ambition. Thirdly, there is an absence of revolutionary vision and mass organisation as a result of the underdevelopment of both the leadership and society. Finally, international circumstances between the two world wars are not propitious for national liberation movements.

The war against fascism

Appeased by Britain, France and the US, fascist powers initiated WWII. The cost to humanity was great: 50 million killed, another 35 million crippled including over 25 million in the Soviet Union; six million people of Jewish origin die from Nazi genocide, and five million others are also exterminated in the death camps. Major political Zionists were exposed for collaborating with Nazis (see p. 63) or opposing partisan warfare. Middle East territory was also embroiled. The British especially coveted the colonies, markets, etc. of Germany, Italy and Vichy France. With its British alliance as springboard, the US sought to carve out its own sphere of influence, in which there would still be no role for a Palestinian state – and assisting this was the Zionists' declaration of war on the Mandate.

1939 – Another promise

17 May: British White Paper – To settle outstanding issues of the revolt as war clouds gather, Britain formally restricts Jewish immigration to 75,000 over the next five years and again promise to extend the Palestinians self-government. It rejects the creation of either a Jewish or Arab state but envisions an independent state with a secular government to be established in 1949.

1 Sep: WWII – Nazi Germany invades Poland.

1940-1944 – Thieves fall out

1940: (Feb) The Mandate issues land transfer regulations. In the largest zone, land can only be bought and sold amongst Palestinian Arabs. With Palestinian rebellion, the Royal Commission's report and the 1939 White Paper combining to obstruct their aim of establishing a Jewish state, the Zionists step up illegal Jewish immigration, terrorism, and their US ties.

1942: (May) The **Biltmore Program**, adopted by the Jewish Agency, aims to create a Jewish state in Palestine through unlimited immigration and transfer of the Muslim and Christian population to neighbouring Arab countries.

1944: (Apr) "The executive of Britain's Labour party published its platform for a postwar settlement. It included full-throated endorsement of the transfer of the Arabs out of Palestine and the expansion of the mandatory borders to facilitate the absorption of large waves of Jewish immigrants." (B. Morris) It also abandons support for Welsh and Scottish self-determination.

❑ Many Arab states achieve formal political independence, profiting from the inter-imperialist contradictions, the decline of Britain and France, and their dissensions. Iraq rebels against the British (5/41), Vichy France abandons Lebanon and Syria (11/43), and the Conference of Alexandria lays the foundations for the League of Arab States – Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Transjordania and Yemen (9/44).

Post War – Dynamic expansion, dispossession and oppression

The defeat of fascism galvanized anti-colonial and socialist struggles on the world scale. Aspirations for peace, a world governed by law, and recognition of inalienable human rights led to formation of the United Nations. The United States supplanted the

Continued on page 50 ▶

King David Hotel, Jerusalem, bombed by the Irgun gang, 22 July 1946, resulting in the deaths of 92 Britons, Arabs and Jews, and the wounding of 58. It housed the secretariat of the Palestine Government and the British Army Headquarters. Irgun aimed to destroy evidence the British had gathered proving that the terrorism in Palestine was not merely the actions of "fringe" and "extremist" groups such as the Irgun and Stern Gangs, but was committed in collusion with the Haganah and Palmach, under the direction of the Jewish Agency and its head, David Ben-Gurion. Both he and M. Begin became PMs.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, DC

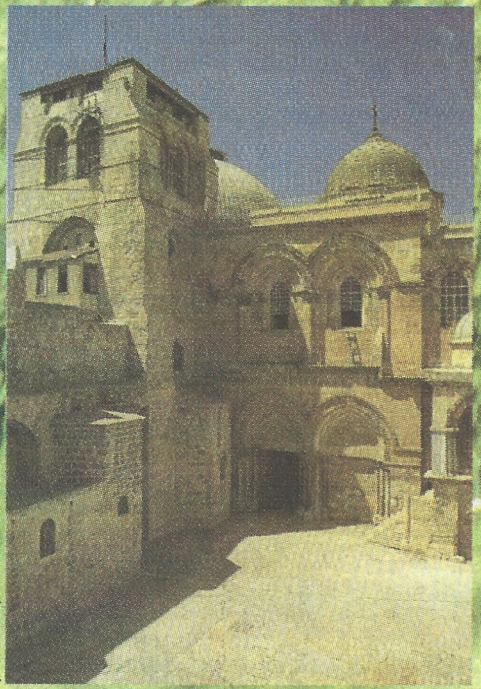
▲ *Military parade of British might in Jerusalem, August 1929, coinciding with Zionist provocations and the al-Buraq Uprising of the Palestinians*

Touching up history

Britain's mission is so ignominious that it subsequently erases its role in Palestine from its own official history. Many of the campaign medals are never issued.

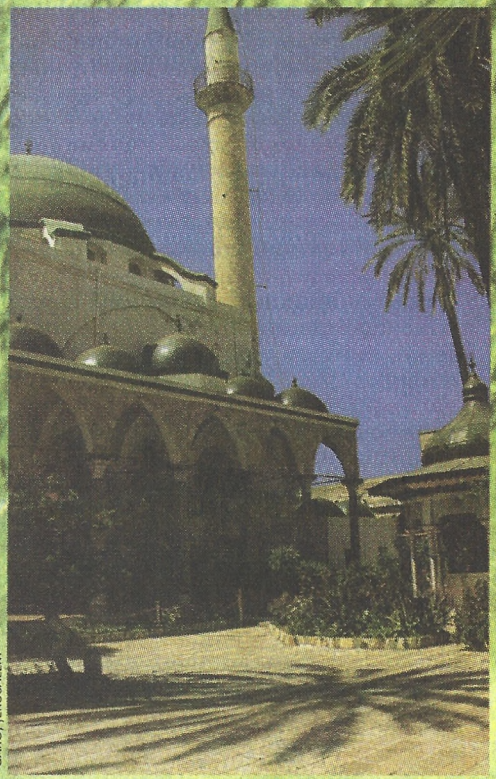
"Until two years ago, the campaign was never mentioned at the Armistice parade in London. There's not even a definitive figure for the British troops who died – around 400 were killed or died of wounds. And it took over 50 years for British veterans to get a memorial for the dead: in the end, the veterans had to pay for it from their own pockets." Robert Fisk, "A Conflict Conveniently Forgotten and a Holocaust Deliberately Denied", 5/9/02, *The Independent*

Secret Whitehall files – detailing atrocities committed by the British Security Forces in Palestine during the 1936-38 revolt with the approval of the cabinet – normally would have been made public at the end of 1968, under Britain's "30 years rule." They were held back an additional 20 years and quietly released in January 1989. (Derek White, www.cfi.org.uk/britain.htm) ■



JOHN MOSS, LODNON

Church of Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, built in 335 CE by Constantine, during the early Byzantine period



GARO, JERUSALEM

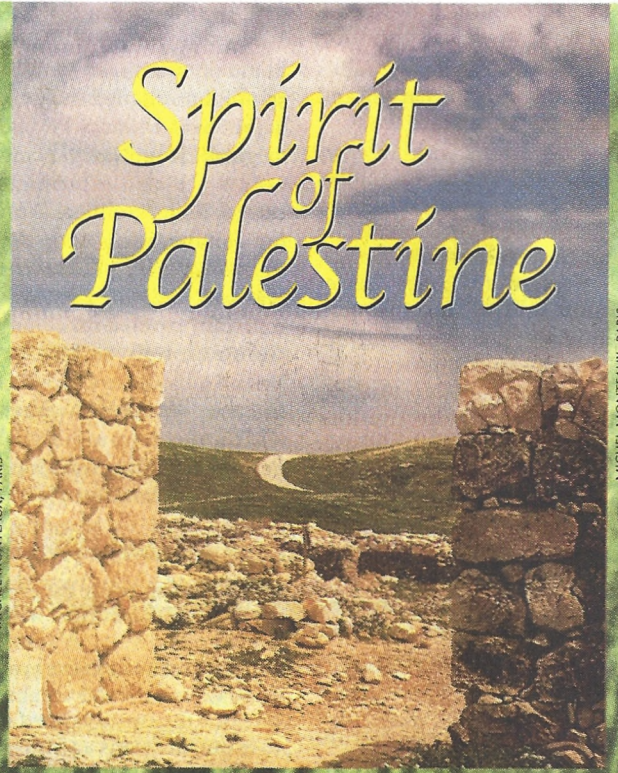
JOHN MOSS, LODNON

The Mosque of Abraham in Hebron contains the tomb of Abraham and his family. The minarets and the adjacent Al-Djaouliyah Mosque are from the Mamluke period.

Spirit of Palestine

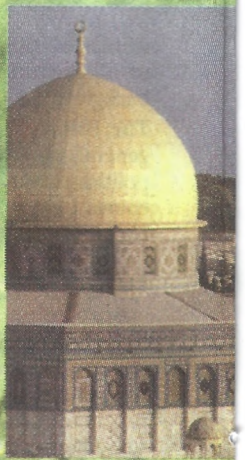
Interior of the Dome of the Rock built by the Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik ibn Marwan in 685 CE. It is part of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and shelters the rock from which Muhammad is said to have ascended to heaven.

GARO, JERUSALEM



MICHEL MONTEAUX, PARIS

Crossroads of civilization. The reality of Palestine as a territorial entity is long-standing. The Palestinians are a nation with an ancient culture, fine traditions, and a freedom-loving spirit. The Palestinian and the Arab peoples have exerted a truly brilliant influence on the development of world science and culture.



MICHEL MONTEAUX, PARIS

Al-Aqsa Mosque (wi
Jerusalem, also know
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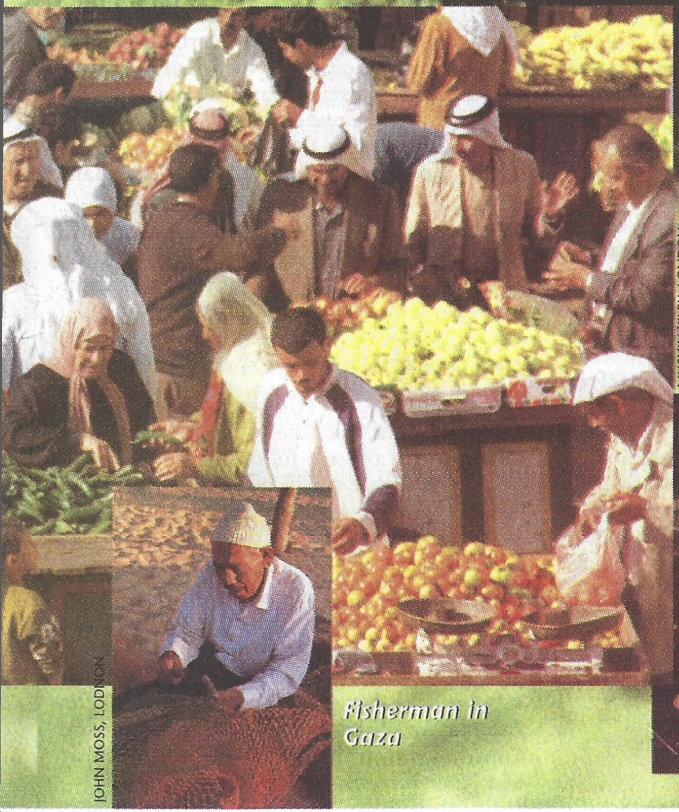


JOHN MOSS, LONDON

Fisherman in Gaza

MUSHIR FILAY, LONDON

JOHN MOSS, LONDON

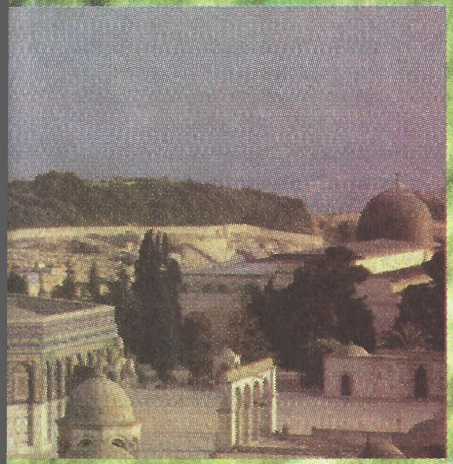
Restoration work in Al-Aqsa Mosque. The revival of traditional crafts and the restoration of schools and mosques have gone hand-in-hand with the affirmation of Palestinian identity

CHRIS STEELE-PERKINS/MAGNUM, LONDON

MICHAEL MONTEAUX, PARIS

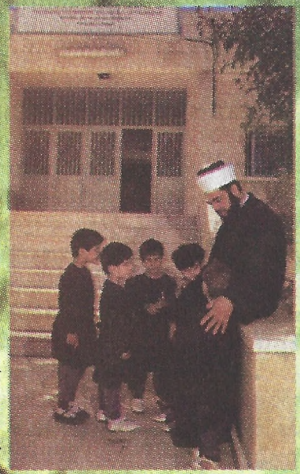
School girls, West Bank

BACKGROUND PHOTO: REX FEATURES, LONDON



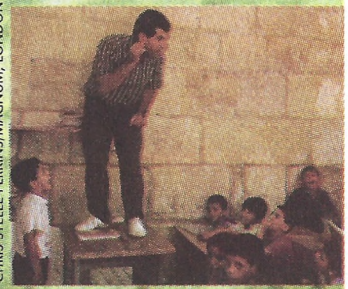
n grey dome in background) in
n as the Noble Sanctuary or Al-Haram
ed in 705 CE, it encloses over 35 acres
, schools and other buildings.

Israeli soldier guards the 'Wailing Wall', with the Dome of the Rock and Israeli settlements in the background



JOHN MOSS, LONDON

School for blind girls, West Bank



CHRIS STEELE-PERKINS/MAGNUM, LONDON

School for the deaf, Jerusalem

Continued from page 47

European powers as the principal imperialist state. With its 6th Fleet, it became a dominant force in the Middle East in the 1950s. It was prime mover of the creation of a State of Israel. It also emerged as main prop of anti-democratic regimes such as the Pahlevi dynasty in Iran, and orchestrated the overthrow of nationalist regimes. Following the policy of 'divide and rule', it set one state against another.

The rapidity of the British collapse caught the Palestinian and Arab leadership unprepared. At the start of the century, the British Empire stood at its height. Its control of the Suez Canal facilitated penetration of all areas lying between the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean coastline of the African continent down to Cape Town (South Africa), as well as all regions between the Persian Gulf and the Indian subcontinent. In the end, neither its extent nor its wealth could prevent the sun from setting on its empire, nor contain the struggles for self-determination among the so many peoples enslaved by its yoke. During the WWI and especially after, as the national revolt of the peoples of the subcontinent further challenged the Raj, the security of Britain's control of the Suez Canal became critical, linking the fates of India and Palestine. In 1947, Britain abandoned the Mandate, but not as a result of "fatigue," let alone the "brilliant" terror tactics of the Zionist gangs, or from any attack of conscience. They were desperate. Everything was to be mustered to prevent the national struggle in the subcontinent from decisively expelling them.

Formed through terror, war and foreign intervention, Israel was a proxy for Western interests. It provoked bloody conflicts with and among Arab states. One war after another enabled it to occupy Egyptian, Syrian, Jordanian and Lebanese territories — Sinai, the West Bank, the Golan Heights and Gaza Strip. Dispossession and oppression of the Palestinian people and dynamic expansion were its main characteristics from the outset.

On 21 May 1948 – a week after proclaiming a state-without-borders – David Ben-Gurion, the first Israeli Prime Minister, stated:

> The Achilles heel of the Arab coalition is the Lebanon. Muslim supremacy in this country is artifical and can easily be overthrown... (The Armed Prophet, 1954, p. 139)

He said that same year:

> The present map of Palestine was drawn by the British Mandate. The Jewish people have another map which our youth and adults should strive to fulfil – from the Nile to the Euphrates.

In 1954 he wrote (in Rebirth and Destiny of Israel):

> To maintain the status quo will not do. We have to set up a dynamic state bent on expansion.

In 1969, Gen. Moshe Dayan, Defence Minister, reiterated:

> Our fathers have reached the frontiers which were recognized in the partition plan. Our generation reached the frontiers of 1949. Now the Six-Day Generation has managed to reach Suez, Jordan and the Golan Heights. This is not the end... (*London Times*, 25/6/1969)

To date, despite innumerable UN resolutions of condemnation, Israel continues this merciless policy of aggression, checked only by the stubborn resistance of the Palestinians.

Political anti-semitism

Israel attacks even its mildest critics as "anti-semitic", yet Zionists have never scrupled about attacking Jews for their own self-serving ends.

In 1950-1951 Israel launched *Operation Ali Baba.* Its aim: to terrorize Iraqi Jews, as part of an overall campaign to drive Jews from Arab and North African countries to Israel. Mordechai ben Porat and Yehuda Tajar, attacked the Masauda Shem'Tov synagogue in Baghdad and committed similar atrocoties at synagogues in Basra and Kirkuk, murdering or injuring many worshippers.

"Three bombs thrown by Israeli agents between April 1950 and January 1951 at locations frequented by Jews in Baghdad succeeded in causing a panic. Iraqi Jews assumed that terrorists were attacking them. Almost all of Iraq's 130,000 Jews left, most emigrating to Israel. While the first two bombs didn't kill anyone, the third killed a Jewish boy." (Naeim Giladi, "The Jews of Iraq", *The Link*, April-May, 1998) They waited until 1966 before publicising their role.

In 1952 Sharun, editor of *Davar*, official organ of Israel's then-ruling Mapai party, wrote in *Kemper*, a Yiddish-language newspaper circulating in and from New York City (home to the second-largest Zionist constituency outside Israel), that:

"If I had the power, as I have the will, I would select scores of efficient young men, intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with the desire to help redeem Jews, and I would send them to the countries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction. The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non-Jews, and plague these Jews with anti-Semitic slogans such as 'Bloody Jews, Jews go to Palestine,' and similar intimacies.

"I can vouch that the results, in terms of a considerable immigration to Israel from these countries, would be ten thousand times larger than the results brought by thousands of emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears." (11/7/52).

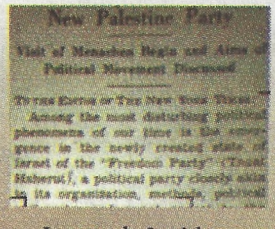
Like all terrorists, Zionists had no social base amongst the people they claimed to represent, opposed their social liberation, and expressed contempt for the Jewish and Arab masses alike. This stand lined up support from the wealthiest centres of power around the globe.

Attacks on non- or anti-Zionist Jews was policy from the time of the Iron Wall doctrine.

One of the first acts of the Haganah was to attack a May Day demonstration near Haifa in 1921. Those non-Zionist Jews who advocated a secular parliament were targeted for assassination (40 by 1945). In fact, the Zionists opposed and did not conduct a single negotiation between 1920 and 1948 with the Palestinians either.

In a prophetic but forgotten open letter to the *New York Times* in December, 1948 a group of Jewish intellectuals, including Albert Einstein, one of the most eminent men of science of the 20th century, referring to Begin's party, wrote:

"Within the Jewish community, they have preached an admixture of ultranationalism, religious mysticism, and racial superiority. Like other Fascist parties they have been used to break strikes, and have themselves pressed for the destruction of free trade unions. In their stead they have proposed corporate unions on the Italian Fascist model.


New Palestine Party
Visit of Menahem Begin and Aims of Political Movement Discussed
To the Editor of The New York Times:
Among the most disturbing political phenomena of our time is the emergence in the newly created state of Israel of the "Freedom Party" (Tnuat Haherut), a political party closely akin in its organization, methods, political

"During the last years of sporadic anti-British violence, the IZL and Stern groups inaugurated a reign of terror in the ... Jewish community [native to Palestine or otherwise non-Zionist]. Teachers were beaten up for speaking against them, adults were shot for not letting their children join them. By gangster methods, beatings, window-smashing, and widespread robberies, the terrorists intimidated the population and exacted a heavy tribute." ■

1945 – Compassion in words

31 Aug: Pres. Truman asks British PM Attlee to grant immigration certificates for up to 100,000 survivors of the Holocaust to enter Palestine.

While milking world compassion for WWII survivors to promote the necessity of a Jewish homeland, the US and Canadian governments recruit thousands of Nazi war criminals to immigrate.

1946 – US pressure on Britain

May: Anglo-American Commission – Convened in Jerusalem, with Zionist and US representatives bringing pressure on the Mandate. Proceeding from the 1937 Peel Commission, it demands partition on a communal basis. It reiterates Truman's demand for 100,000 certificates; recommends abolition of the 1940 restrictions on the land transfers; rejects early independence for Palestine – partitioned or unified – and proposes Palestine become a UN Trusteeship, pending which the mandate would continue. Britain states that it cannot immediately accept.

The Jewish population grows more than tenfold to 608,000. The Palestinian population stands at 1,269,000. Some 5.6 per cent of Palestinian land is in Jewish hands.

1947 – Partition: the Zionist state

Apr-May: UNSCOP (United Nations Special Committee On Palestine) – Special Session to establish this process following a British announcement that it will pull out of Palestine. "Keeping order" in Palestine now costs Britain over £35m a year, exceeding the profits it extracts.

Sep: UNSCOP Majority Report recommends partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. It rejects the "minority" position calling for a Palestinian secular state with democratic guarantees for the Jewish minority. Canada's representative is the Secretary of State for External Affairs Lester "Mike" Pearson, and the Canadian Jewish Congress hails his role as that of a **"Canadian Balfour."**

29 Nov: By a two-thirds majority, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) adopts Resolution 181 embodying the "partition" plan to create separate Arab and Jewish states. Jewish state is granted 56% of the area, an area that includes as many Arab residents as Jews. Jerusalem (158 sq km), under UN administration, is defined as a *corpus separatum* (international city), comprising 1.5%. The Arab population – numbering 1,250,000, double that of the Jews – retains 42.4%. (see maps p. 37, bottom p. 40).

The Palestinians reject the UN Plan and demand a unitary State, which would equitably reflect population size and land access needs.

US Defence Secretary Forrestal writes that the methods of "coercion and duress on other nations bordered on scandal". Sumner Welles affirms that "by direct order of the White House, every form of pressure, direct or indirect, was brought to bear by American officials upon those countries that were known to be either uncertain or opposed to Partition." The US embargos arms shipments to Palestine and the Arab states within a week of the resolution, while Zionists stockpile weapons from all over the world.

1948 – al-Nakba (The Catastrophe); Genocide and ethnic cleansing

Between December 1947 and the illegal Declaration of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948 – before the British Mandate officially ends – the Haganah, and the Irgun and Lehi (Stern) which coordinate many activities under its leadership, unleash Plan 'Gimel' – to militarily occupy and prepare to annex all Palestinian population centres inside the partitioned area reserved for a Jewish state. This is followed by Plan 'Daled' – to expel eastward, by whatever means necessary, communities of Palestinians resident in land already opened up to cultivation on or in the West Bank as far east as the Jordan River valley.

There is a massive literature about what the Palestinians would experience as "the Catastrophe," which the Zionists trumpet as a "War of Independence." An important source from the Israeli side is the works of historian Benny Morris about these events. On the damage inflicted throughout this turning-point on the Palestinian striving for self-determination, there are extensive and detailed materials on the websites www.passia.org and www.palestine-net.com.

According to historian Morris, Palestine is dismantled in four distinct waves. Each phase begins with a massacre, *e.g.*, Deir Yassin (9-10 Apr) by the Irgun-Stern gangs, the last village on the western side of Jerusalem whose Arab inhabitants had not yet fled. Far from being a capricious act of "extremists", it is part of the comprehensive Plan Daled ('D') actually worked out in 1943. Fourteen other masacres follow in this phase alone, with no British action to stop them.

FIRST ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

May: Ben-Gurion presents his strategic aims to the General Staff. "We should prepare to go over to the offensive. Our aim is to smash Lebanon...The weak point is Lebanon...We shall establish a Christian state there, and then we will smash the Arab Legion, eliminate Transjordan; Syria will fall to us..."(Michael Bar Zohar, Ben Gurion: A Biography [New York: Delacorte, 1978])

In this period, with the exception of Nazareth, Zionist forces depopulate nearly all Palestinian towns. Some census figures before and after these expulsions: Haifa: from 70,000 to 2,900; Jaffa: from 70,000 to 3,600; Jerusalem: from 70,000 to 3,500; Lydda-Ramleh: from 34,920 to 2,000; Acre: from 15,000 to 3,000; Tiberias: 5,300 to (virtually) 0; Besian: from 5,180 to 0; Beersheba: from 65,500 to 0; Safad: from 9,530 to 0 (Labeeb B'Soul, Survey of the Palestinian Arabs' Social, Legal and Economic Status in Israel, 2002)

14 May: The State of Israel is proclaimed but fixed borders are abjured – on 11% of Palestine. The US recognizes it 11 minutes later, and offers an emergency loan of $100 million.

15 May: The British Mandate ends abruptly as Britain evacuates its troops. The Haganah/Irgun/Stern drive east into the UN zone assigned to the Palestinians. Far from "driving Israel into the sea, "the armies of Iraq, Syria and Jordan never even reach the area partitioned for the Jewish state. In the wake of massacres committed against Palestinians, Israeli minister of agriculture Aharon Cizlang admits in a cabinet meeting, "now Jews too have behaved like Nazis and my entire being has been shaken." (For the major massacres, see map bottom p. 40)

15-17 May : USA and USSR recognise Israel.

22 Sep: All-Palestine Government announced by the Arab Higher Committee, transforming the temporary civil administration into a government for all Palestine.

11 Dec: Resolution 194. UN proclaims the inalienable right of return for Palestinian refugees:

> That the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible.

This Resolution is re-affirmed more than 25 times, and confirmed more than 130 times, a unique case in UN history. For the next 54 years to date Israel refuses to comply.

1949 – 'It is still waiting'

Israel defeats the Arab armies. A series of armistice agreements are signed with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. Israel extends its holdings of Palestine by conquering areas allotted by the UN for a Palestinian state, and controls 78% of the total area – rather than the 56% originally allocated. At least 700,000 Palestinians are now refugees, or 60% of the population of historical Palestine. 13,000 are killed. Of 859,000 Palestinians living inside of Israeli lines, 684,000 lose their homes and property. From 1948 to 1967 Palestinians inside the State of Israel (78% of Palestine) are again subject to military rule.

11 May: Resolution 273 – UNGA admits Israel to the UN on the condition that it implements Resolution 181 (defining the borders of the partitioned area) and Resolution 194 (recognizing Palestinians' right to repatriation or compensation). It is still waiting.

12 Aug: Fourth Geneva Convention provides protection of civilians in time of war.

8 Dec: The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) forms specifically to address the Palestinian refugee issue. Close to 5m refugees are dispossed of their land and identity.

1950

23 Jan: In violation of UN resolutions, Israel establishes its capital in western Jerusalem.

Mar: Absentee Property Law adopted, classifying anyone who was a citizen or resident of one of the Arab states or a Palestinian citizen on 29/11/47 but had left his place of residence, even to take refuge within Palestine, as an 'absentee'. Absentee property is vested in the custodian of absentee property, who then 'sold' it to the Development Authority, empowered by the Knesset. This authorizes the theft of the property of a million Palestinians, seized by Israel in 1948.

24 Apr: Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan annexes the territory it occupied, renaming it the West Bank. Egypt asserts authority over Gaza.

Jul: Knesset unanimously passes the *Law of Return*. Its first tenet states, "Every Jew has a right to emigrate to Israel." (See pp. 80-95)

1951: Israel attempts to divert the waters of the Jordan River from the Jordan Valley to the Mediterranean and to the Negev, contrary to the armistice agreements and over the protests of US and UN officials.

1953 – Qibya ... and water

28 Feb: Israel launches a large scale assault on the Gaza Strip, attacking the UNWRA refugee camp at Bureij in the Gaza Strip, killing 102 villagers and refugees.

Sep: The US prepares a unified plan for the Jordan River – apportioning 33% of its water to Israel. Israel wants more. To pre-empt the plan it secretly begins a crash program to construct a nine-mile pipeline in the demilitarized zone to divert its waters, the B'not Yaacov canal. The significance is that only 23% of the flow of the Jordan originates in Israel. The US secretly cuts aid to Israel.

14-15 Oct: **Massacre in Qibya,** a West Bank Palestinian village in Jordan by "Unit 101" of Israeli Army, "the avengers", formed and commanded by 25-year-old Israeli major Ariel Scheinerman (Sharon) blow up 45 homes in Qibya in a battalion-level attack. They kill 69 civilians, two thirds of them women and children. Sharon's orders are as follows: "The objective: attack Qibya, conquer, and cause maximum harm to persons and property..."

As a result of the ensuing furore, the US makes public (18 Oct) its aid cutoff over the diversion project. Just 11 days later, under pressure from the Zionist lobby and an Israeli pledge to suspend work, US aid resumes. Israel however diverts some of the waters of the Galilee and the lakes above it (used by neighbouring countries for crops) to its Negev desert (see map, p. 32).

1956 – 2nd ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

▲ *Nasser of Egypt*

26 Jul: Britain and France challenge Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal, an event of major importance to developing countries, cancelling a 99-year lease imposed by an Anglo-French consortium at the end of the 19th century. Later Israel, in collusion with London

and Paris and with large secret supplies of French arms, stages a sweeping ground attack, seizing Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula (see map p. 41). Br-Fr serve an ultimatum on Egypt and Israel (6 Nov) to withdraw to positions 10 miles either side of the Canal. Israel provokes Egypt to reject the ultimatum and creates a pretext for the RAF to bomb Port Said, a port at the Mediterranean entrance to the Canal. The US becomes Israel's principal protector, backer and arms supplier. As part of a new inter-imperialist rivalry, the Soviet Union also moves in under the banner of "socialism" and "friendship" with the Arab regimes.

29 Oct: **Kafr Qassem.** massacre. (see p. 56)

1957

5 Jan: The **Eisenhower Doctrine:** the US asserts the right to employ force, if necessary, to assist any nation or group of nations in the general ME region requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by "international communism" (*e.g.*, Nasser). Ostensibly drafted to preserve regional stability, its primary goal is to extend American hegemony.

In response to a Presidential threat to cut US aid, Israel withdraws from Gaza and the Sinai.

1958

15 Jul–Oct: US invades Lebanon with 10,000 troops from its 6th Fleet, to prevent a pan-Arab Muslim government.

1959

In Kuwait, one of the major Palestinian diaspora, Yasser Arafat and associates form the **Palestine Liberation Movement, known as Fateh.** The founding congress is held in October. Fateh, a reverse-acronym for *Harakat At-Tahrir Al-Filistiniya* (Palestinian Liberation Movement), also means "conquest."

Fateh grows out of a clandestine organization formed by students in 1957; it advocates armed struggle to liberate all of Palestine by Palestinians, while remaining independent of all Arab governments. Headed by Arafat ever since, it was and is the largest and strongest PLO group.

Until the 1970s, it follows a guerrilla strategy (with its military wing Al-Assifa and squads, known as Fateh Hawks and Black Panthers, operating underground in the Occupied Territories). Formulating a new policy at the 1972 congress, it repositions guerrilla warfare as one of various means of struggle. Its political program: a democratic, secular, multi-religious state.

In the first Intifada (1987-93), it played a central role, represented in its leadership by three members in the Executive Committee. Fateh is credited with "ferocious resistance" in Jenin and other cities during Operation Defensive Shield.

1960

Israel completes the diversion of the Jordan River. Jordan and Syria strongly protest the unilateral appropriation of their water.

The Sixties

This marked the highpoint of national liberation and anti-imperialist struggles on all continents. In 1960 the Sharpeville Massacre unfolded in South Africa, the Vietnam war raged, many African countries won independence, revolutionary movements challenged Latin American clients of Washington and the civil rights movement was on the march in North America. Forces came forward recognizing the fundamental necessity for change.

On 29 May 1964 the 1st Palestine National Congress convened in Jerusalem. Its 388 delegates from all sectors of Palestinian society drafted the First National Covenant. (2 Jun) The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) officially formed, as a nationalist organization with various tendencies with the aims of liberating Palestine and defeating the anti-Arab, annexationist policy of Israel. It accepted the Jewish population as part of the citizenry of a new Arab state of Palestine.

The development of popular struggles placed the Palestinian question high on the international agenda. This brought widespread support from progressive forces around the world. The reactionary colonial nature of Zionist rule became widely known for the first time.

Israel was seen urging imperialist powers to oppose struggles for national and social liberation more actively. Through the export of arms, Tel Aviv supported white settler regimes in Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa. It also armed South Vietnam (Dayan spent two months there in 1966) and later Pinochet's Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala and Somoza's Nicaragua. At the UN it opposed African independence and – in various meetings, such as the Law of the Sea and the conferences on raw materials – the demand of the developing countries for

1954: 'Diabolic plans' to 'Christianize'

Israel threatened force against Lebanon to prevent it from using its own water from the Litani River to develop its southern region. The threats were made to Eisenhower's envoy, Eric Johnson, during a meeting on water issues in 1953.

Sharett

Moshe Sharett who shared the prime-ministership with Ben Gurion was forced out of office when he refused to go along with the latter's "diabolic plans" for the creation of an inter-Lebanese conflict which would guarantee the partition of the country. He detailed these plans in his diary[1]. As Livia Rokach relates in her book Israel's Sacred Terrorism:

"Sharett's diary provides the entire documentation of how in 1954 Ben Gurion developed the diabolic plans to 'Christianize' Lebanon, i.e., to invent and create from scratch the inter-Lebanese conflict, and of how a detailed blueprint for the partition and subordination of that country was elaborated by Israel more than fifteen years before the Palestinian presence became a political factor....

"Already in February 1954 Ben Gurion proposed a large Israeli operation to dismember the Lebanese state and to establish a Maronite-Christian state in one of its parts. Extended discussions were held... Ben Gurion explicated the plan at length in a letter to Sharett, and Sharett answered in a long letter in which he opposed the plan vehemently. Ben Gurion was ready to invest large sums in bribing Christian leaders in Lebanon... the chief of staff supported the plan of buying a Lebanese army officer, who would be a puppet, and who would make it seem that the intervention of the Israeli army would be in response to his call for the liberation of Lebanon from Muslim subjugation. In the eyes of today's reader this plan seems an accurate blueprint for what took place in Lebanon after that – the civil war, the establishment of the Maronite enclave of Major Sa'ad Haddad and labeling it 'free Lebanon.'

May, 1955 – At a secret cabinet meeting, Sharett quotes Dayan as saying that the "only thing necessary is to find an officer, even just a major. We should either win his heart, or buy him with money, to make him agree to declare himself the savior of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, occupy the necessary territory, and will create a Christian regime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory from the Litani southward will be totally annexed to Israel, and everything will be all right."[2]

"Moshe Dayan, then Israel's Chief of Staff, explained why Israel needed to reject any border security arrangement of Arab states, or by the United Nations, as well as by the formal security guarantees suggested by the United States. Such guarantees, he predicted, might "tie Israel's hands... As Dayan admitted... much anxiety had to be generated... The lives of Jewish victims also had to be sacrificed to create provocations justifying subsequent reprisals, especially in those periods in which the Arab governments succeeded in controlling the reactions of the harassed and enraged Arab border populations. A hammering daily propaganda, controlled by the censors was directed to feed the Israeli population with images of the monstrosity of the enemy." ■

As Dayan admitted, '... much anxiety had to be generated ... The lives of Jewish victims also had to be sacrificed to create provocations justifying subsequent reprisals...'

1 Sharett's diary was published posthumously by his son, despite a campaign of physical threats and legal confrontation by the Zionists. (Livia Rokach, *Israel's Sacred Terrorism: A Study based on ex-Prime Minister Moshe Sharett's Diary* [Belmont, Mass: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1986. 3rd Edition], pp 22-27)

2 Council of National Interest, Middle East Research Institute

more equitable, sovereign arrangements.

By the time of the Glassboro Summit, three weeks after the June 1967 war, the US and the Soviet Union, although rival empires, found themselves impelled to collaborate in imposing a continuous state of "no war, no peace" as the sole arbiters of the fate of the people.

1964: Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA) formed as the PLO's military branch led by Arafat, with three brigades: Ein Jalut (Gaza and Egypt), Qadisiyya (Iraq) and Hittin (Syria). Establishes the Popular Liberation Troops (Kuwat At-Tahrir Ash-Sha'biya) in Gaza in 1968 as commando units to fight against the Israeli occupation. Its first attack (31/12/64) is on a pumping station and water canal of the National Water Carrier. Follows the strategy of "people's war", with most forces deployed in Syria and Lebanon.

1965: Mar: Israel diverts the Jordan River

1965: (13 Nov) Israeli tanks and armored cars attack the village of Sammou in the West Bank, killing 18, wounding 54, destroying 125 houses, a clinic and a school. The UNSCR (25 Nov) censures Israel for this aggression.

1967 – 3rd ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

5 Jun: **The Six-Day War.** Under pretext of a pre-emptive defensive strike, Israel initiates a war, attacking Egypt, Syria and Jordan. It occupies the remaining 22% of historic Palestine, bringing another 1.1m Palestinians under military rule. It begins occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Sinai of Egypt and the Golan Heights of Syria, over 65,000 sq km. The Suez Canal is closed until 1975. (see map p. 41)

28 Jun: Flying in the face of world opinion at the UN, Israel annexes East Jerusalem.

26 Jul: Israel launches settlements in the Occupied Territories under the *Allon Plan.* Main points include: minimizing Arab rights, annexing the Jordan Valley, consolidating the Jerusalem corridor, and cantonizing the remainder (conforming with an autonomy plan for Palestinian self-administration) – all in the name of "security". The 1997 *Allon Plus Plan* envisions the future "enclaves" with restricted autonomy around Palestinian population centres, confined to less than of 40% of the West Bank, with Israel retaining residual control.

Aug: Military rule in the Occupied Territories. The Palestinian Center for Human Rights issues a report stating that"Israeli Military Orders required the licensing of publications" and occupying forces had to "confiscate newspapers or other materials published without license." All printed material is subject to military censorship. The censors ban 6,000 titles.

"Open Bridges" policy – Defence Minister Dayan proposes to provide access for the Palestinians to the Arab World via Jordan and facilitate the export of Palestinian products (competition for Israel), and the passage of workers (e.g., to the Gulf states) – in order to encourage emigration: Palestinians aged 20-40 are barred from returning for nine months.

The Israeli establishment is fragmenting over where to resettle the Palestinians. The Labour Zionist wing, led by Foreign Minister Abba Eban, says: "to neighbouring Arab countries, mainly Syria and Iraq". PM Begin: tear down the refugee camps and ship the inhabitants to Sinai – territory seized from Egypt two weeks before.

The Army and Defence Ministry set up a "secret unit charged with 'encouraging' the departure of the Palestinians for foreign shores" – including Paraguay. According to revelations of Ariel Sharon 20 years later, there was a plan to thus remove up to 1m Palestinians. A Palestinian attack on Israel's consulate in Asuncion kills the scheme. Some 1,000 are transferred. (*Washington Post,* 7/2/88)

23-26 Jun: Glassboro Summit.

22 Nov: **UNSC Resolution 242** calls on Israel to withdraw from lands occupied in the June war. The United States continues to block efforts to enforce the Resolution.

1968

Jan: Fateh adopts as its political programme the establishment of a secular democratic state in Palestine in which Arabs and Jews coexist.

21 Mar: Israel attacks Fateh bases in Al-Karameh, using chemical weapons, east of the Jordan R. Palestinian forces and the Jordan block Israel from entering the East Bank. UNSCR (24 Mar) condemns Israeli attack.

If the US can take Canada's water, Israel can take Palestine's

"There is no reason for Palestinians to claim that just because they sit on lands, they have the rights to that water," Mr. Katz-Oz [Israel's negotiator on water] said.

"The mountains do not own the water that fall on them. It's the same with Canada and the United States. It's the same all over the world." (Alan Cowell, "Hurdle to Peace: Parting the Mideast's Waters", *New York Times,* 10/10/93)

"On the whole, when it comes to the common water resources shared with Palestinians and other Arabs, Israel ... acts like a great sponge." Sharif Elmusa (1993)

In April 2000 Canadian Prime Minister Chrétien declared in Nazareth that Israel was "right" to keep access to the Sea of Galilee.

Predatory economics of the 1967 war: blue water gold

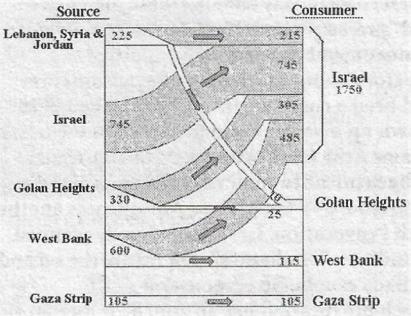
War is a continuation of politics by other means:

■ The 1967 war augmented the surface water supply of Israel by about 40% by annexing Arab lands at the expense of three of its four neighbours. Israel seized control of the headwaters of the Jordan River. Today, Israel takes virtually all of the river's flow, leaving only brackish, unusable water for the Syrians and Jordanians. The Golan Heights, annexed from Syria, supplies 30% of Israel's water. The diversion of the Jordan to the Mediterranean littoral and to the Negev defies international law regarding water use; namely that water should not be diverted from its catchment basin.

■ The war augmented its underground water supply. It diverted 80% of the water pumped from West Bank aquifers, reducing the Palestinian portion to only 20%. Today, more than 35% of its water consumption originates from the West Bank (the westward flowing Eastern Aquifer) and Gaza (Gaza Aquifer, now polluted and salinated) alone.

■ According to an 1984 estimate, the economic value of this water was over $2bn annually. **"The price of peace thus becomes, for Israel, the spoils of war, some $2-3 billion yearly in forsaken war prizes."** (Thomas Stauffer, 1984 Arab Research Center symposium on water, determining value by the cost to replace this volume, e.g., desalination). In 1999, experts estimated the compensation for damages to Palestinian water resources caused by Israel and for Palestinian water used by Israel over the years, at a minimum of $45bn. (Water and Environment, PASSIA)

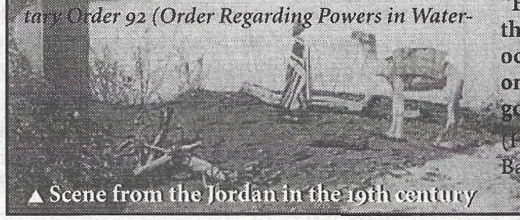
Authorities imposed strict water regulations on the residents of the West Bank. Israel enacted *Military Order 92 (Order Regarding Powers in Water-Law Matters)* and *Military Order 158 (Order Amending the Supervision Over Water Law No. 31, of 1952)* in the West Bank in August 1967, transferred all powers in effect under Jordanian legislation to the appointee of the Commander of IDF forces in the region and revoked all the rights that legislation had granted to the population, unless the said officer extended them. In contrast to the Jordanian legislation, decisions of the commander can not be appealed to any other level of authority or court.



■ *Military Order 498,* of 1974, created a similar situation in the Gaza Strip. In 1981, Israel transferred powers over water matters to the Interior Department of the Civil Administration.

■ Permits to drill or even deepen wells in Arab areas are rarely given, and never for agriculture – only 13 wells were approved for domestic use from 1967 to 1996. The policy, according to *Davar* (26/11/78), was aimed at minimizing any interference with the water being pumped to Israel proper (within the pre-1967 borders) from the West Bank.

"From the analysis above, it becomes clear that an important second objective of Israel's occupation of the West Bank is an economic one, water being the major factor. A similar goal is probably being sought in Lebanon." (H.A. Amery and A.A. Kubursi, The Litani River Basin: The Politics and Economics of Water)



▲ Scene from the Jordan in the 19th century

BLATCHFORD COLLECTION

21 May: UNSCR declares invalid all Israeli legislative and administrative measures – including the expropriation of land and properties – intended to change the legal status of Jerusalem.

1969 – 'They did not exist'

Zionist agent sets fire to the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

15 Jun: Israeli PM Golda Meir states:

> There was no such thing as Palestinians... It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist. (*The Sunday Times*, London, 15/6/69)

Jul: US increases aid to Israel in 1971 to $634m in 1971, from $93m in 1970. Between 1972-77, the US sells Iran over $22b in arms.

9 Dec: UNGA adopts Resolution 2535 (XXIV) reaffirming the inalienable rights of Palestinians to self-determination.

Provocation as *modus operandi*

Menachem Begin, the former Israeli prime minister, was a cabinet minister in June 1967. Addressing Israel's National Defence College, he stated: "In June 1967, we again had a choice. The Egyptian army concentrations in the Sinai did not prove Nasser was really about to attack us. We must be honest with ourselves. We decided to attack him." (*New York Times*, 21/8/82)

Israel deceptively labelled these "defensive" and "pre-emptive strikes." Mordechai Bentoff, a cabinet member, eventually admitted that "all the story about the danger of extermination had been a complete invention and had been blown up *a posteriori* to justify the annexation of new Arab territories (*Le Monde*, 3/6/72).

The September 2000 visit of Ariel Sharon and 3000 troops to the Al Aqsa Mosque was another such provocation. Israel had already planned its military "retaliation" well before the second Intifada erupted in response.

Each provocation has an aim, be it foreign aggression, as in 1967, or the decapitation of the PLO and the organizations of the Palestinian people, as in 2000-2002 and the *transfer* of the people *en masse* from the Occupied Territories.

Provocations are standard operating procedure for superpowers. Sanctioned by the Bush Doctrine that "either you are with us or the with the terrorists," this method demonizes and criminalizes on the basis of fabricated crimes all those who do not agree to submit to a particular dictate.

The National Security Strategy of the USA, set out by Bush on 17/9/02, sets out force – including pre-emptive strikes – as the norm for "resolving" conflicts between or within nations, without regard for the rule of law.

Provocation has been Israel's stock-in-trade for a long time. It accuses others of every crime in the book for which it is itself responsible.

Former Prime Minister Moshe Sharatt quotes Moshe Dayan as stating in May, 1955: "[Israel] must see the sword as the main, if not the only, instrument with which to keep its morale high and to retain its moral tension. Toward this end it may, no – it must – invent dangers, and to do this it must adopt the method of provocation-and-revenge... And above all – let us hope for a new war with the Arab countries, so that we may finally get rid of our troubles and acquire our space." (quoted in Livia Rokach, Israel's Sacred Terrorism) ■

The Seventies

In this decade military attacks on Palestinians become a feature of daily life inside the Occupied Territories, including terror tactics used against political leaders. Neighbouring refugee communities, including Lebanon are not exempt. After the mass deportations of the 1948 War (750,000) and 1967 War (388,500), Israel continues this policy in the Occupied Territories. According to B'Tselem, the Israeli human rights organization, from 1967 to 1992, 1,522 Palestinians are deported. Between 1970-1973, 785 Palestinians are deported and in 1992 alone 415 Palestinians are deported to South Lebanon, mainly intellectuals, some for one year and others for two years. None of those deported are charged, tried or convicted of a criminal offence.

1970: (Sep) The PLO is gaining strength; "Black September" ensues. PLO decamps to Lebanon.

1971 – 'The right to resist'

6 Dec: Resolution 2787 – UNGA reiterates the position of the UN Charter recognising the right to resist foreign occupation in the Palestinian and other cases, confirming *inter alia* "...the legality of the peoples' struggle and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, notably in Southern Africa and in particular that the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), as well as the Palestinian people, by all means consistent with the Charter of the United Nations."

1972: (5-6 Sep) Attack at the Munich Olympics, killing 11 Israelis. The PLO condemns the attack. Israel bombs Lebanon, killing 400 civilians.

1973 – 4th ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

10 Apr: Israeli elite troops assassinate PLO officials in their homes in Beirut, including the prominent poet Kamal Nasser, director of puiblic relations. This is part of *Operation God's Wrath*, authorized by PM Golda Meir for the purpose of eliminating the est'd 1,000 current or potential leaders of the Palestinian national liberation movement.

Aug: Palestinian National Front forms within the Occupied Territories.

6 Oct: **The October War.** Egyptian and Syrian armies attack to recover territories occupied by Israel, including the east bank of the Suez Canal and Golan Heights. (See map p. 41) Seymour Hersh (The Samson Option) claims that Israel has 100+ nuclear bombs and Israeli Gen. Moshe Dayan considers using them against Egypt. Massive US airlift saves the Israeli forces, enabling them to prevail. The US places forces on global alert (DEFCON III), including Canada's (through NORAD), without notifying its government, saying they did not want to awaken the Defence Minister who was sleeping.

The war is the first unified action of Arab states against Israel. The myth of Israeli "invincibility" is exposed. (17 Oct) Arab states stop oil exports to the US, reducing oil production by 5% per month.

22 Oct: Resolution 338 – In the context of demanding an immediate "ceasefire in place" the unscr reiterates that Israel must return to the pre-1967 borders (Resolution 242).

26-28 Nov: The Arab League in Algiers recognises PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the

The Iranian Revolution shook the superpowers

In 1953 the CIA and British secret services organized the overthrow of the democratically-elected Mossadeq government in Iran. This secular nationalist government had nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951. A quarter-century of mediaeval rule followed under the Shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, and 40% of British oil passed to US control. The Savak, the secret police, was formed with the help of Norman Schwarzkopf Sr. and trained with Mossad assistance. The Pahlevi family accumulated a $3bn fortune – deposited in US banks. Iran became the the most important prop of US interests in the Middle East after Israel.

In January 1979 the courageous people of Iran, led by a general strike of the oil workers in Abadan and Ahwaz, toppled the Shah. A Council of Mullahs led by Ayatollah Khomeini took power. It branded the Shah's protector a "Great Satan" for its policy of aggression throughout the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and around the globe. Later they also stigmatized the Soviet Union: the Iranian revolution shook both superpowers to the core.

The US president announced a new policy, the Carter Doctrine on 23 January 1980. In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter warned: "An attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." It set into motion the creation of "rapid deloyment forces." The Soviet invasion was presented as the reason for the Carter Doctrine. But the Iranian Revolution and the victories of several revolutionary movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America in the 1970s impelled it. Incited by the US, Iraq invaded Iran.

A co-ordinated propaganda campaign was unleashed. Islamic believers were demonized as mediaeval, uncultured, ignorant, greedy, envious of "the West" and incapable of governing themselves. In parallel, Palestinians were "denationalized", denigrated as "inferior" to Israelis. Eminent books were written about "the clash of civilizations", aimed at separating progressive opinion from this broad anti-imperialist upsurge, and parading the imperial powers as "the voice of civilization". ■

Palestinian people."

14 Dec: Resolution 3151 – The UNGA condemns *inter alia* the **unholy alliance between South African racism and Zionism.**

1974 – PLO recognized by UN

19 Feb: Discarding the position maintained since its founding in favour of establishing a secular democratic state in "all"of Palestine, the Palestinian National Council accepts the establishment of a Palestinian state in "any liberated part" of Palestine.

14 Oct: UNGA adds the Question of Palestine to its agenda for the first time since 1952. (13 Nov) It invites Chairman Arafat to address it on behalf of the PLO as sole representative of the Palestinian people. His address is entitled "Zionism is Racism". The UN recognises the inalienable right of Palestinians to independence and self-determination and grants the PLO observer status. (22 Nov, Resolution 3236 XXIX)

1975 – 'Zionism is Racism'

Apr: A 13-year civil war erupts in Lebanon.

10 Nov: UNGA adopts Resolution 3379 (XXX) that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination. (In the 1990s, it is rescinded under intense US pressure supported by Canada.)

1976 – Day of the Land

30 Mar: **Day of the Land** – Israeli Arab citizens launch mass demonstrations in Galilee against expropriation of their land. This date becomes an international day of solidarity.

1977 – Sadat to Jerusalem

17 May: Likud wins election – A "right-wing" coalition takes power in Tel-Aviv for the first time, led by Begin, and unleashes waves of settlements in the territories occupied by Israel in 1967. (19-21 Nov) President Anwar Sadat of Egypt addresses the Knesset in Jerusalem, abandoning the Palestinians as a precondition for collaboration with Washington.

28 Nov: The UNGA adopts resolution condemning Israel for its political, diplomatic, economic, military and nuclear collaboration with apartheid South Africa.

1978 – From Litani to Camp David

14 Mar: Israel launches *Operation Litani,* a full-scale invasion of South Lebanon, with 30,000 troops in order to push PLO positions away from the border, bolster the power of the "South Lebanon Army", and annex southern Lebanon south of the Litani River in the name of a "security zone'. Studies show it was planned for two years. The attack displaces over 250,000 people, kills 1,500-2,000 mostly Lebanese and Palestinian civilians, and ultimately occupies a 10km strip north of the border (about 10% of Lebanon).

Major Saad Haddad (1979) declares a Maronite State in southern Lebanon. The SLA is paid ($500 a month), provisioned and armed by Israel, commanded by Israeli officers, and many of its leaders given Israeli citizenship. UNSCR 425 demands an immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Israel's refusal and attempt to claim a "security zone" provokes creation of a 5,000-member United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to restore Beirut's authority over its sovereign territory. In a stand-off that lasts until May 2000, Israel prevents it from reaching the border, in violation of nine subsequent UN resolutions, where the US openly backs Israel.

17 Sep: **Camp David Accords** – Carter brokers "peace" between Egypt (Sadat) and Israel (Begin) at the expense of Palestine. Carter (28 Dec) rules out a Palestinian state.

US troops disguised as a "multinational force" are placed between Egypt and Israel but on Egyptian soil. Egypt ultimately becomes the second-largest recipient of US aid after Israel.

1979 – Soviet Invasion

Jan: People of Iran topple the Shah. (See sidebar)

22 Mar: **Resolution 446** – UNSCR declares Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories illegal and a serious obstacle to peace.

19 Nov & 12 Dec: UNGA reaffirms the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and declares that the Camp David Accords have no validity in determining the future of the Palestinians.

26 Dec: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan.

The Eighties

1980: The Knesset illegally seizes a large portion of the West Bank for settlements under the guise of annexing as "East Jerusalem" a zone ten times Jerusalem's defined area.

1982: (6 Jun) With a "green light" from the US, Israel begins a massive land, air and sea invasion of Lebanon; (15-18 Sep) **Sabra and Shatilah War Crime.** (See pp. 24-27) Palestinian Communist Party forms.

1985: (Oct) Israel bombs PLO HQ in Tunis, 3,000 miles distant, in a bid to assassinate Arafat and the PLO leadership. 75 people are killed and 120 wounded, mostly civilians.

Israel pulls most of its forces out of Lebanon and sets up a 15 km (nine mile) wide occupation zone to "stop cross-border attacks".

1987 – First Intifada

9 Dec: **Intifada** ('Civil Uprising'; Arabic, lit.:

During the Iran-Iraq War, both the US and USSR backed Iraq

Iraq invaded Iran in 1980. The US blocked UNSCR efforts to condemn the invasion; removed Iraq from its list of nations supporting terrorism; tolerated Soviet export of arms to Iraq; and enabled transfers of advanced weaponry, satellite and other intelligence-sharing, training as well as financial backing for Saddam Hussein – while it permitted Israel to supply arms to Iran (the Iran-Contra affair). Iraq was supported by Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Gulf Emirates.

During the 1980s the US sold $20bn worth of arms to Gulf States and (in 1982) removed Iraq from the list of countries that supported terrorism, allowing exports of dual-use equipment, including jeeps, helicopters and transports. In December 1983 President Reagan dispatched a special envoy to meet Saddam Hussein, at a time when Iraq was already using gas against the Iranians. The envoy sent to Iraq to arrange the re-opening of the US embassy – in order to secure better trade and economic relations with Iraq – was (wait for it) Donald Rumsfeld.

The five **permanent members** of the UNSCR – Russia, France, China, Britain and the US – all ultimately financed and armed Saddam Hussein. No UNSC resolution was ever passed to condemn or curtail Iraq's invasion of Iran.

1984: The US increased its support, becoming principal trading partner, augmenting purchases of Iraqi oil and encouraging Britain and Japan to do the same, and authorising increased intelligence sharing. Vice President Bush, the CIA and the State Department began lobbying the Export/Import bank to begin large-scale financing of US exports.

1984: (27 Oct) Iraq resumed full diplomatic relations with the US, which had broken off in October 1967. This was largely a formality: the US interests section at the Belgian embassy was one of the largest missions in the capital. The price of this support was that Iraq drop its hard line on the Arab/Israeli conflict. Tariq Aziz declared on US TV that Iraq would support, "any just, honourable and lasting settlement between the Arab states and Israel."

1986: The US sent a high-level CIA team to advise the Iraqi military. Until late 1986, the US was also funnelling large quantities of arms to Iran through Oliver North, as well as bigger operations involving Israel and Pakistan. The congressional report on the Iran/Contra scandal stated: "The US simultaneously pursued two contradictory foreign policies – a public one and a secret one. The public one was to improve relations with Iraq. At the same time the US secretly shared military intelligence on Iraq with Iran. Colonel North told the Iranians in contradiction to US policy that the US would help promote the overthrow of the Iraqi head of government."

1988: As Iraq attacked the people of Halabja with gas, along with tens of thousands of other Kurds – when he "used gas against his own people" in the words of Messrs Bush et al – President Bush Sr. provided him with $500m in US government subsidies to buy American farm products. In 1989, President Bush Sr. doubled this subsidy to $1bn, along with germ seed for anthrax, helicopters, and the notorious "dual-use" material that could be used for chemical and biological weapons.

More than one million soldiers on both sides were slaughtered over the next eight years. Another 780,000 were injured, three quarters Iranian. No clear-cut victor emerged.

A year later, the Berlin Wall fell. The United States openly pursued world hegemony of an increasingly unipolar world. ■

Hunting 'terrorists' in Israel

There are sixty Israelli terrorist groups that "operate under the direct command of the Israeli General Intelligence Services and the occupation army," according to a Palestine Media Center news release issued on 6 August 2001. They belong to the settler groups that "have murdered scores of innocent Palestinian civilians."

Is Israel serious about terrorism or has it given them a green light? To call them vigilantes and hoodlums is not an exaggeration. Armed settlers have been able to use violence with impunity.

▲ *Gush Emunim settler attacks Palestinians in Hebron*

Some settlers "were subject to sham trials' and sentenced "to scandalously light sentences only to release them shortly after that through presidential clemency. "If these terrorists are not arrested, it then becomes the Palestinian People's right to deal with them as terrorists and to do all that is necessary for the purposes of self-defense."

The Palestinians have publicly exposed the names of leaders and members of these death squads. ("A List of 60 Israeli Terrorists Is Revealed") The list is available as a downloadable Word file from http://electronicIntifada.net/forreference/documents/jewishterrorists.html

On 3 October 2002 an Israeli court sentenced a prominent Jewish terrorist to a six-month house arrest. Noam Fiderman was found guilty on such charges as possessing and providing bombs to other terrorists, conspiring to place bombs in Arab schools in East Jerusalem, throwing steel balls on Arab pedestrians in Hebron, causing severe injuries, vandalizing Arab property, and planning to burn down Arab businesses near the Ibrahimi Mosque in downtown Hebron. Fiderman is a former colleague of Baruch Goldstein, the Jewish terrorist who in 1994 murdered 29 Palestinian worshipers as they were praying at the Ibrahimi Mosque.

Hamed Hijazi, a Palestinian jurist, said, "If a Palestinian had been on trial for the same charges, he would have received at least a 15-20 year prison-sentence". He added that "this sentence proves that Israel is not really a democratic country, a truly democratic country doesn't apply different laws and standards depending on the religion and race of the defendant."

Israeli, Palestinian and foreign human rights organizations routinely issue reports illustrating Israel's judicial apartheid, especially in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Earlier in October, the former Israeli attorney – General Michale Ben-Yaer admitted that Israel was adopting the system of apartheid in the Occupied Territories.

One of the most notorious case of Israel's double standards on terrorism was its treatment of those officers and soldiers who perpetrated the Kafr Qassem massacre in 1956.

▲ *Jerusalem's Old City, 6 April 2001– "defence" forces at work; 7 heavily armed border police restrain a defenceless child*

A few hours after Israel invaded Sinai, they murdered with machine guns in cold blood and without warning 49 men, women and children – Arab Israeli citizens, returning from work in their fields – burying the bodies in a mass grave. The facts only became known durying a trial that lasted two years. Seven received light sentences; all were set free one year later by government amnesty. In September, 1960 Israel appointed the second-highest-ranking officer present at the time of the massacre, Second Lieutenant Gabriel Dahan, its "Arab Affairs Officer" in the nearby Ramleh district, despite the fact that he had been sentenced only two years earlier to 15 years in prison for his direct involvement in the murder of innocent Arab citizens.

Collective punishment

Along with extra-judicial execution, Israel applies the Nazi doctrine of collective punishment in contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

One form is the demolition of homes of those suspected of security offences, prior to being charged or tried. Quite apart from the assumption of guilt before trial, the demolitions punish the other family and household members, young and old, male and female, as much as the suspect.

In 1985-86 a total of 73 homes, housing more than 440 inhabitants, were demolished, or wholly or partially sealed. In the first 15 years of occupation Israel claims to have destroyed 1265 homes, but the practice declined in the late 1970s until its revival in 1985. Between 1996-99 demolitions increased to 249.

When a plea was made to the Israeli High Court in March 1986 that the demolition of three suspects homes was a form of collective punishment, the court rejected the argument, stating that if that were the case it would only be possible to punish a terrorists who lives alone.

The bankruptcy of such an argument needs no elaboration. When the military also occasionally apprehends Jewish terrorist suspects, and even convicts them, it does not demolish their homes. On the contrary, almost all those Jewish terrorists received either a Presidential pardon, or early release from prison.

On 23 November 2001, the UN Committee Against Torture stated that the Israeli government's house demolition and closure policies "may, in certain instances, amount to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment of punishment" in violation of Art. 16 of the UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. *–Staff* ■

'shaking off') What is today referred to as "first Intifada" erupts after four Palestinians are killed when an Israeli truck collides with two vans carrying Palestinian workers. Ensuing clashes spread rapidly to the rest of the OT. The Intifada is carried by youth and directed by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising – a coalition of the main parties, with the goal to end the Israeli occupation and establish Palestinian independence.

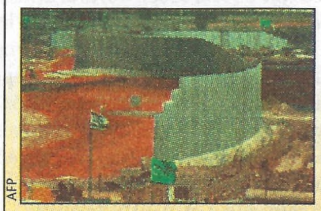
Israel's response includes: closing universities, deporting activists, destroying homes, the use of live ammunition and 'rubber' bullets. The number of soldiers on duty on the West Bank at the beginning of 1989 is more than three times the number needed to conquer it during the Six Day War. The international community is stirred into seeking a permanent solution. With the signing of the Oslo Accords, the Intifada comes to an end. Casualties were high with over 1,500 Palestinians dead, and tens of thousands injured.

1988 – Declaration of Independence

Jan: Formation of Hamas, an Arabic acronym formed from *Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiyya* (the Islamic Resistance Movement) meaning 'zeal.' Hamas is not a component of the PLO but a political movement growing out of religious associations, which begins as the Muslim Brotherhood's link to the first Intifada, and initially Israel tolerates, if not encourages its flourishing as an alternative to the PLO. (It is listed as 'terrorist' organization by the US State Dept.)

- The Hamas Covenant (Aug) declares all of Palestine an Islamic trust territory, under no conditions to be surrendered to non-Muslims, and proclaims *jihad* against Israel. The Hamas political program envisions an Islamic state in all of historic Palestine, under the law of *Shar'ia.*
- During the Intifada, although it operates independently of the leadership, it does not question the PLO's role as representative of the Palestinian people at the international level.
- After Fateh, it becomes the largest Palestinian group. Agreeing to abide by decisions of the Palestine National Council but calling for elections to the PNC, Hamas gains popularity through its charitable enterprises in ensuring educational health and other services especially in Gaza, while opposing the Oslo "peace process" in principle and participating in numerous armed attacks on Israeli targets.

15 Nov: The Palestinian National Council convenes its 19th session and adopts the Declara-



AFP

Iron Wall. Fencing Palestine – Israel began erecting on 1 July 2002 a concrete 50-km, 25-m high "fence" around three sides of Jerusalem, which is to ultimately extend to imprisoning the entire West Bank, as well as ghettoising the Jewish population from any contact with the Arab world. The projected cost is US$2,563,600 per mile.

tion of Independence of Palestine. It adopts a political communiqué, including acceptance of UNGA resolution 181(II) of 1947 and UNSCR resolution 242 (1967), announces the establishment of the State of Palestine in the West Bank and Gaza and endorses the appointment of Yasser Arafat as President. 55 countries including China and the Soviet Union recognize the Palestinian state and/or the proclamation.

15 Dec: The UNGA acknowledges the proclamation of a state of Palestine by the PNC. It decides that the designation Palestine should be used instead of PLO in the UN system.

Palestinians mark the first anniversary of the Intifada. By the end of the 1st year, 318 Palestinians have been killed, 20,000 wounded, 15,000 arrested, 12,000 jailed and 34 deported.

1990s & beyond

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc between 1989 and 19 August 1991 severely destabilised international relations in Europe, Asia and Africa. The Common Market reorganised as the European Union (EU) and, in 1993, the United States, Canada and Mexico set up the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA, officially launched in 1994), with plans to cover both American continents by 2005.

The US emerged as the sole superpower in a unipolar world. George Bush Sr. endeavoured to create a "New World Order" to preserve its global pre-eminence. This self-serving unilateral doctrine proposed using force to settle conflicts, disdaining negotiation. In the Middle East, one of the regions richest in oil, it sought the role of hegemony – a leading role unchallengeable from any quarter.

Control of oil, strategic pipeline and shipping routes (the Suez Canal), and the strengthening of Israel and compliant Arab regimes – a "New Arab Order" – becomes critical. This new order envisions establishment of US military bases throughout the Arab world. All support from the Arab world for armed resistance by Palestinians was to be abandoned.

The Gulf War against Iraq allowed Washington to escalate its military presence, cement its control of the region, and open up massive investment of billions of dollars by the US multinationals, especially the energy-rich Caspian Basin and Central Asia. Yet it was also increasingly challenged economically by Europe and Japan (which in the mid-1980s had overtaken the United States).

As other revolutionary struggles ebb, the Intifada continued. This national rebellion posed the major obstacle to Washington's designs on the region, and actually became the main factor for peace in the Middle East. Along with the deceptive Oslo Accords, summit after summit came and went, aiming to liquidate this uprising and sidetrack the long-term struggle. Israel implemented its greatest expansion of colonial settlements into Palestinian territory – its policies of *Transfer* and dispersal of the Palestinians. Continued resistance frustrated these strategems. This laid bare a crisis of historic proportions for the US and Israel. Far from surrendering, the Palestinians spontaneously unleash their Second Intifada in 2000.

1990 – Gulf War prelude

1990: (2 Aug) Iraq invades Kuwait, claiming it as its "19th province." The Arab world is split and polarised. (8-10 Aug) US forces arrive in Kuwait.

(8 Oct) The first eight Canadian jet fighters arrive in Qatar to take part in the undeclared blockade of Iraq.

(15 Jan) A US-led coalition ousts the Iraqi forces from Kuwait in Operation Desert Storm. Canada's total contribution includes 18 CF-18s, three warships and a field hospital unit – altogether about 1,700 military personnel. The country's first offensive military action since the Korean War is met with large-scale protests but all "major" parties endorse the war.

The PLO refuses to join the US-led "coalition". In the aftermath, only 30,000 of 400,000 Palestinians previously in Kuwait remain, as it expels the rest to the Occupied Territories and Jordan.

1990: 8 Oct: **The Al-Aqsa Mosque Massacre:** Following a march of 200,000 Jews to assert control over the historic holy site, the closure of roads with military barriers to prevent Palestinians from getting to Jerusalem, and blocking the doors of the Mosque (defended inside by seveal thousand worshippers), Israeli troops open fire for 35 minutes in the courtyards of Al-Aqsa, killing 34 Palestinians and injuring 850. They use automatic weapons, poison gas bombs and gunships, Most wounds are in the head and heart.

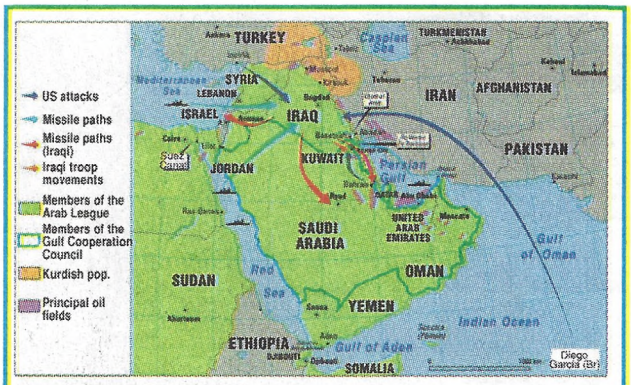
1991 – The attack, the loan

Jan: US loan guarantees ($10 bn) fund expansion of Zionist colonies throughout the Occupied Territories, including separate "dedicated" roads, water-sewer service, education and other infrastructure.

30 Oct: **Madrid peace conference** . Bush and Gorbachev open the "renewed peace process".

1993 – Oslo Accords

25 Jul: Israel launches *Operation Accountability,* a week-long air, artillery and naval blitz targeting southern Lebanon.



▲ **The Gulf War, 1991.** Iraq, incited by the US, attacked Kuwait, and Washington unleashed a so-called coalition, attacking and destroying large areas of Iraq and Kuwait, including Baghdad and other cities. Iraqi troops evacuated Kuwait City on the so-called "Highway of Death". The bombing of water and sewer systems spread disease. UN sanctions backed by regular bombing caused terrible suffering to the Iraqi people, and illegal US-British bombing missions over the so-called "no fly" zones during the next 11 years added to the terror.

Madeleine Albright, US Ambassador to the UN, demonstrated the basic imperialist attitude towards life and to the Arab peoples during a CBS broadcast of Leslie Stahl's report on Iraqi suffering under sanctions. Her comments stunned the world. Stahl visited Iraq and confirmed that at least 500,000 children have died due to sanctions.

Stahl: "The question is, are they [sanctions] missing the mark?... We have heard that half a million children have died. I mean, this is more children than died in Hiroshima. Is the price worth it?'

Albright: **"This is a very hard choice, but the price....we think the price is worth it."** (60 Minutes, 12 May 1992)

In 1992 Ramsey Clark, former US Attorney General, convened a commission of inquiry "into the conduct of the war... After 30 hearings in 16 countries, 19 charges of war crimes, crimes against peace and crimes against humanity were levelled at George Bush and key members of his administration, and at General Norman Swhwarzkopf and key members of his military staff. The tribunal jury, made up of 22 international lawyers and former politicians, found them guilty on all counts. The findings (29 Feb) were front page news in the MidEast and Asia. Not a single word was reported by mainstream Western press or television."(Grant Wakefield, Iraq: A chronology of Sanctions)

Casualties: 123 civilians, 11 Hezbollah guerrillas, about 500 wounded, and 300,000-500,000 Lebanese displaced.

13 Sep: **Oslo Accords.** Flanking US president Clinton, PLO Chairman Arafat and Israeli PM Rabin sign the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government (DOP) at the White House. The PLO recognises the right of the State of Israel to exist; Israel recognises the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" – but not the right of the Palestinians to their own state. Everything else is put off to "final status" talks, but in the next eight years Israel's settlement-building more than doubles.

The **Palestinian National Authority** (PNA) is established on the basis of the DoP, to "govern" Palestinian affairs in the self-rule areas. It consists of the elected President (Yasser Arafat), the appointed cabinet (executive committee currently composed of 32 PNA Ministers) and the Palestinian Legislative Council (88 elected members). The PNA is subject to the agreements signed with Israel and as such has no powers over its own foreign affairs. However, it is officially recognized by many states, including the US, EU, China and Canada.

1994 – Terrorists honoured

24 Jun: The PA holds its first meeting in Gaza City. (1 Jul) Arafat returns to Gaza to the welcome of tens of thousands.

14 Oct: Arafat, Rabin, Shimon Peres co-recipients of the Nobel Peace prize. In 2002, The Nobel Committee, citing Peres' participation in the Sharon cabinet, publicly regrets the choice.

▲ *South Lebanon and Golan – strategic rivers, colonies are highlighted*

On 24 May 2000 Israel is driven out of South Lebanon "in chaos and humiliation" (*LA Times*) by Hizbollah guerillas, some 300 in number, ending a 22-year illegal and destructive occupation – a major defeat. Israel left tens of thousands dead and 2,200 destroyed homes, compared to nine Israeli civilians deaths during that period. Hizbollah accomplished what UN Resolutions defied by Israel had failed to do.

❑ 6,000 Israeli troops and the SLA mercenaries fled in panic, 6,000 to Israel, some of whom, wearing Israeli uniforms, now man checkpoints in Palestinian territory. (*Jerusalem Post*, 22/3/01)

❑ Israel offers bribes to its SLA mercenaries on condition they leave the country; it asks Canada amongst others to admit these war criminals and to proscribe Hizbollah as "terrorists".

❑ Israel illegally holds the 40 sq km Shabaa Farms, over which Lebanon and Syria claim sovereignty, using its occupation to pressure both.

❑ Hundreds of Lebanese civilians storm Israel's Khiam prison, freeing about 140 prisoners and exposing a hideous apparatus of torture and terror employed there – Electric wires used to torture inmates during interrogation, a whipping-post, boards on which prisoners were tied-down, letters which were never distributed, and a crutch used by a prisoner crippled by torture, witnessed by Robert Fisk of *The Independent*.

❑ The IDF and SLA leave behind a huge cache of arms.

❑ Hizbollah distinguish themselves with a policy of restraint to the SLA. "In Christian eyes, it was the Israelis who disgraced themselves, with their desertion of their predominantly Christian-officered SLA allies." (David Hirst, *Guardian*, 5/28/00) The defeat is the result of "determined popular resistance willing to take punishment and make sacrifices…". (Edward Said, *AlAhram Weekly*, end of May 2000)

❑ Hizbollah, without foreign state support, take up positions along the Israeli border, emerging as "the most formidable fighting force Israel has ever faced. Its triumph is already having a psychologicial impact on Arabs everywhere, not least in Palestine," observes Stephen Zunes (*LA Times*, 5/26/00):

These scenes have potentially far-reaching implications. Can others in the Middle East living under foreign military occupation, such as the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, have failed to register what real liberation looks like? Everywhere Hezbollah fighters, derided by the Israeli and US governments as 'terrorists', conducted themselves in an exemplary manner, handing prisoners over to government troops and ensuring that the liberation was not marred by acts of vengeance. These supposed fanatical terrorists were once again shown to be a disciplined and responsible liberation force.

❑ UNIFIL troops increase from 4,500 to 5,600 in June. Lebanon and UNIFIL repeatedly charge Israeli border violations in the next months. ■

1995 – Oslo II

28 Sep: **Oslo II** – The Palestinian-Israeli Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip appears to stipulate further Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, but, by dividing the West Bank into areas A, B, and C, and provides guidelines for the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). (See pages 16, 75)

Nov: Yigal Amir, a member of the Likud, assassinates Israeli Prime minister Rabin.

1996 – Killing for 'tourism'

20 Jan: **Palestinian Legislative Council** (PLC) is elected in accordance with the Oslo I and II Accords. It has 88 members elected in 16 electoral districts of varying sizes (voter turnout: 79%). Of the 88 seats, 49 are held by Fateh, 15 by independents affiliated with Fateh, 4 by independents affiliated with Islamist movements, 17 by independents, and 3 by others. It is responsible for drafting a Palestinian constitution as well as legal and regulatory frameworks. All legislation and acts must be transmitted to the Israeli authorities for approval. The PLC has no powers in terms of foreign relations and agreements. Its members automatically become members of the PNC.

24 Sep: Israel opens the Hasmonean tunnel near Al Haram Al-Sharif in the Old City in East Jerusalem, for 'tourism', sparking demonstrations throughout the Occupied Territories. Israeli gunfire (soldiers, tanks, gunships) kills 68 Palestinians and wounds hundreds during demonstrations against the opening of the tunnel.

Most are shot in the head or chest. The Jerusalem Media Center, citing medical sources, show all but one killed by a bullet to the head or chest; over half are by headshots. Most casualties are from a single shot, the Palestinian health ministry says, and some 60% of the 1,665 injured are wounded by shots to the head or chest.

18 Apr: Israel launches a major attack on Lebanon – *Operation Grapes of Wrath* – in "retaliation" against recent Hizbollah attacks. Its attack

Return of the Turks: Byzantine diplomacy

The extent of Turkish-Israeli-US military co-operation is unknown. This secret alliance, known as the Ankara Pact, is forged in the 1990s.

❑ 12% of Israeli's bombers and fighters are permanently based in SE Turkey, which hosts a huge US base, as well as naval and submarine forces; Iran and Syria, as well as Iraq, are threatened. According to Robert Fisk, "Israeli jets now regularly fly along the Turkish-Syrian frontier and over northern Iraq as well… Encirclement of Syria lies at the heart of this still-growing alliance." (Turkey has dammed the Euphrates River.)

❑ "But Israeli planes are now training in Turkey, using Turkish bombing ranges, just as Turkish pilots are now flying in the skies over Israel. The Americans chair a regular meeting of Turkish and Israeli intelligence officers in Tel Aviv and on at least one occasion last year a Jordanian officer was also present." ("Jerusalem Draws in the Turks to Spy on Arab Foes", 24/2/98, *Independent*)

❑ 1997: Israeli military begins helping Turkey in its long campaign to crush Kurdish rebels – which led Turkey to mount a sizeable invasion of northern Iraq. Under the guise of combatting Kurdish rebels, oil-poor Turkey may one day seize and annex Iraq's northern oil fields near Kirkuk and Mosul. (Eric Margolis, 6/15/97) The 508,000-man army is the second largest in NATO.

❑ 1997: IMF loan deal offers $15.7bn in crisis lending. The ruling generals of Turkey force Prime Minister Erbakan to resign in June.

❑ 1998: CIA and Mossad deliver Abdullah Ocalan, head of a rebel Kurdish group, to the Turks from Kenya.

❑ Israel wins lucrative contracts to upgrade Turkish F-4 Phantom and F-5 fighters.

❑ The US and Turkey recently took over three air bases in northern Iraq, outside the control of the Iraqis for years because of the 'No Fly Zones' policy that has it divided into segments.

❑ Israel and US interests (including the *New York Times*) provide ideological support for the suppression of the Armenian holocaust of 1915 by the Turkish establishment.

Like Adolph Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, Shimon Peres is not among those "who remembers the Armenians". The Nobel Peace Prize-winning Foreign Minister, prior to a state visit, stated to the *Turkish Daily News* in April, 2002 that the Armenian account of the genocide was "meaningless".

Israel Charny, editor of the *Encyclopedia of Genocide* and director of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide in Jerusalem, wrote Peres: "... it may be that in your broad perspective of the needs of the state of Israel, it is your obligation to circumvent and desist from bringing up the subject with Turkey, but, as a Jew and an Israeli, I am ashamed of the extent to which you have now entered into the range of actual denial of the Armenian genocide, comparable to denials of the Holocaust." ■

on a UN refugee base at Qana leaves over 150 civilians killed. The UN official report adduces evidence that the shelling of the camp is deliberate; a reconnaissance plane flew overhead, directing artillery fire. The UN formally finds that Israel purposefully brought about the massacre and then lied to cover up its deeds – a unique finding for the UN, and one supported by an Amnesty International investigation.

30 May: Benjamin Netanyahu defeats Peres by 50.3% of the vote against 49.6%. His increasingly corrupt government lasts only to 1999.

13 Dec: UNGA reaffirms illegality of Israeli settlements. A further resolution (16 Dec) reaffirms Palestinian sovereignty over their natural resources, encompassing land and water.

1997: (1 Jan) A free trade deal between Canada and Israel knocks down most trade barriers.

1998: (23 Oct) Wye River Memorandum

Dec: UN inspectors pulled out of Iraq at US behest in anticipation of planned Anglo-American bombing.

1999 – Eternal 'peace process'

17 May: Ehud Barak, ex-chief of staff, defeats Likud leader Netanyahu. The margin is 56% to 44%.

Barak works with Clinton to promote false expectations that the eternal "peace process" is headed to a successful conclusion. Settlement building under Barak doubles compared to Netanyahu. More are built under Barak than at any other time.

2000 – Invincibles flee

9 Jan: B'Tselem accuses Israeli forces and their mercenaries, the "South Lebanese Army" (SLA, portrayed as "Christian allies" by the media), of committing war crimes in south Lebanon: the extra-judicial detention and torture of Lebanese citizens by the SLA; the expulsion of residents from the Israeli-occupied zone in southern Lebanon; and indiscriminate firing that kills and wounds civilians.

24 May: Hizbollah expels Israel from Lebanon.

▲ The UN Conference Against Racism (WCAR, 31 Aug–7 Sep). Some 17,000 participants from over 170 countries convene in Durban, South Africa to condemn "racism, xenophobia and related intolerances" – equating Zionism with racism. The massive international political condemnation put the US and Israel on the defensive. They counterattack the UNWCAR for fostering "anti-Semitism". The terrorist bombing in the US occurs four days later, giving Bush and Sharon the pretext for military adventures in the name of defence in an "all-out war against terror", announced by Vice-President Cheney that very same day.

The Second Intifada – the 'strong hand' for 'the second half of 1948'

28 Sep: **Al-Aqsa Intifada** – Likud opposition leader Sharon makes a provocative "visit" to the Al-Aqsa Mosque, with thousands of security forces deployed in and around the Old City. Ensuing clashes with Palestinian protestors left in the first two days alone five Palestinians dead and over 200 injured. The incident soon sparks a widespread uprising in the Occupied Territories, inside Israel and the Arab World, and brings the peace process to a halt.

The Likud advocates "the strong hand" for "the second half of 1948" (as Ya'alon, head of military intelligence, puts it in November 2000) – to realize unfinished business, including finding another country for the Palestinians.

15 Oct: Israel begins planning what would later (Apr 2002) be justified as "retaliation": *Operation Defensive Shield.* According to Professor Tanya Reinhart, "... military circles were ready with detailed operative plans to topple Arafat and the Palestinian Authority... **before the Palestinian terror attacks started.** (The first attack on Israeli civilians was on 3 November, in a market in Jerusalem). A document prepared by the security services, at the request of then PM Barak, stated on 15 Oct that 'Arafat, the person, is a severe threat to the security of the state [of Israel] and the damage which will result from his disappearance is less than the damage caused by his existence'.(*Ma'ariv* published details, 6/7/01.)

The operative plan, known as *Fields of Thorns* was prepared in 1996, and updated during the Intifada. (Amir Oren, *Ha'aretz,* 23/11/01)"

2001 – The Bush-Sharon axis

21 Jan: George W. Bush becomes US President by coup d'état. Numerous figures in his administration are directly connected to oil and arms. Vice-president Cheney was CEO of Halliburton which operates in Central Asia. National Security Advisor Rice was on the board of Chevron, which has massive investments in Central Asia.

After leaving office, Clinton receives a $400,000 fee from the Jewish National Fund for three days of speechmaking in London.

6 Feb: Sharon becomes prime minister. He visits Washington 7 times in the next 20 months, a record. The US gives him free rein to deploy the army against Palestinian resistance. He inaugurates a policy of assassinating Palestinian leaders. Between 28 Sep 01 and 16 Jan 02, Israeli security services carried out 83 "targeted killings."

May: Cheney outlines energy plan: the US will have to obtain substantial supplies from new sources – the Caspian states, Russia, and Africa; it cannot rely on market forces, but will also require a significant effort on the part of government officials to overcome foreign resistance. (*Japan Today,* 30/4/02)

8 Jul: Sharon prepares *Operation Justified Vengeance* – "a secret plan to invade the Palestinian territories and destroy the Palestinian Authority. Contrived behind closed doors..., it was slated by its IDF and Mossad architects to be launched immediately following the next high-casualty suicide bombing, would last about a month and is expected to result in the death of

Why are charities targeted?

US AND CANADIAN government interference with Islamic and other charities began before 9-11. Some 80 US Federal Agents descended on Richardson, Texas on 5 September 2001, striking a blow against Muslim organizations raising funds for Palestinians not approved by the US and thus accused, largely by those associated with the Israeli/Jewish lobby, of "terrorism".

Membership records, contributions amounts, and contact information were seized in a lightning raid from a company providing internet, mail, and record-keeping services.

According to *Forward,* a US Jewish publication, "Israeli intelligence (Mossad, operating in the US) played a key role in helping the Bush administration to crack down on Islamic charities".

One such charity, Global Relief Foundation, had its assets frozen and leadership jailed on 11/1/02. Yet a US judge admitted that, after reviewing "secret evidence", no one associated with the charity had been charged with any crimes.

Independent Media Centre reported that "the charity was targeted not for its alleged support of 'terrorism,' but as part of a federal effort to shut down relief projects that function independently in areas the US has determined to be 'hot spots.'"

The campaign against US-based humanitarian groups that carry out work among Muslims worldwide coincides with a push for stepped up US imperialist interference utilizing "aid" through mechanisms such as the US Agency for International Development.

The UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinians in the Near East (UNRWA) is the next target.

UNRWA has become a major source of food for Palestinians besieged in the territories. Its food supplies are now delivered not only to the refugee camps, but also in towns and villages. The amount of food UNRWA delivers has increased fourfold in two years. Its officials have spoken out frankly against Israeli repression of UN refugee camps and the quarter billion dollar damages committed by Israeli troops in 2002 alone.

Israel has begun a campaign in the US and the UN to urge a reconsideration of the way the UNRWA operates. It charges that UNRWA workers simply ignored the fact that Palestinian organizations were turning the camps into terrorist bases and demands the agency start reporting all military actions within the camps to the UN. (*Ha'aretz* 29/6/02).

The campaign is not yet demanding cutting UNRWA's aid and presence altogether, but raising the impossible demand that UNRWA should serve as an active force in "the war against terror" ("reporting military or terrorist actions") is the first step towards such a demand.

A double standard operates. Zionist groups which raise funds for the IDF veterans, settler's groups, so-called Canada Park and the like enjoy tax-free charitable status from the federal government. Such campaigns, based on secret evidence, not only violate the rule of law but are a prelude toward targeting individuals in violation of freedom of association. ■

hundreds of Israelis and thousands of Palestinians." (Prof. Tanya Reinhart, Tel Aviv University)

4 Sep: 'Seruvnik' Movement – Israeli high-school seniors headed for the Army "in a letter to Sharon (stated) that they would refuse to serve in the IDF because of what they termed the army's 'terror operations' in the territories."

World Trade Centre, Pentagon

In the wake of September 11, widely blamed on "Islamic terrorists", various arrangements are put in place with great speed, raising questions as to what really happened.

On this very day, Cheney calls for all-out war on terror, subsequently announced by Bush in his address to Congress (20 Sep) in the form of his so-called doctrine, "Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists." The US media initially blames Palestinians, and replay over and over again a short video of a few children in a refugee camp cheering the news. Israeli Defense Minister Ben Eliezer exults, telling *Yediot Aharonot* (13/11/01) two days after 9/11: "It is a fact that we have killed 14 Palestinians in Jenin, Kabatyeh and Tammun, with the world remaining absolutely silent. It's a disaster for Arafat."

WHO SETS THE AGENDA?

▲ *George Bush*

The issue of who sets the agenda is at the root of the problem facing peoples everywhere. It is a fundamental matter of where sovereignty lies. Did you know?

❑ Israel is the largest recipient of US aid in the world

❑ Direct aid to Israel amounted to some $3bn a year (60% military, 40% economic) for the last 25 years

❑ Israel usually gets another $2-3bn in indirect aid, such as loan guarantees and special grants

❑ From 1949-2002, the US 'gave' Israel over $96bn – more than it 'gave' to all the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean combined, which have a total population of over one billion mostly poor people. Israel has only 6 million people, and one of the highest per capita incomes in the world.

The US also instructs Israel on how to repress of the Palestinian people. A report in *Harper's* magazine in June 1988, disclosed an extraordinary confidential memo describing a breakfast meeting held by then US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and American Zionist leaders on 31 January 1988. Kissinger stated:

- **"Israel should bar media from entry in territories involved with demonstrations during the first Intifada.**
- **"The Insurrection must be quelled immediately and international criticism will dissipate shortly.**
- **"It is not the time for Jewish Community Leaders to criticize Israel."**

He told them he wants to be perceived as an American leader and not as a representative of the Jewish community. He would never negatively affect the security of Israel and Israel should return only a part of the 1967 Occupied Territories. ("Kissinger Behind Closed Doors")

Governments rush through draconian "anti-terror" laws, criminalizing dissent and the right to conscience. Assaults and police harrassment against anyone of ME background escalate, with broad adoption of racial profiling by police across the US and Canada. More than 1,500 mainly non-citizens of Mideast and South Asian origin are indefinitely detained, using broad powers of the *USA PATRIOT Act* to snatch people and hold them on "secret information".

7 Oct: **War against Afghanistan** – Declaring "war on terrorism," the US bombs Afghanistan, killing an est'd 8,000 civilians (an additional 1000 POWs die in custody). It replaces the Taliban government (14 Nov). A UK-led "security force" takes over Kabul. World-wide traffic in opium increases ten fold.

8 Dec: Powell states oil companies plan to invest $200bn in Kazakhstan alone in the next 5-10 years. "If one looks at the map of the big American bases created (in the Afghan war), one is struck by the fact that they are completely identical to the route of the projected oil pipeline to the Indian Ocean." (*Ma'ariv*, 14/2/02)

11 Dec: One of Israel's nine Arab parliamentarians, Azmi Bishara, goes on trial charged with undermining the state for calling the occupation illegal. His parliamentary immunity is lifted so that he can be tried – the first time Israel suspended this privilege.

2002 – Israeli Blitzkrieg

No sooner have the Taleban fled Kandahar than the Bush administration openly threatens to overthrow the Iraqi regime by force. The winter and spring are used by Israel and the US to prepare conditions – humiliation and crushing of the Palestinians by Israel and the deployment of 1001 sources of pressure and bribery on America's "allies" to join or go along with a second edition of the Gulf War.

3 Jan: Seeking "evidence", Israel and the US try to pin a so-called arms smuggling deal – the seizure of the *Karina-A* – on Arafat and Iran.

24 Jan: Sharon, indicted war criminal – A huge car bomb blows up Elie Hobeika in Beirut. In 1982, Hobeika's men massacred the refugees at Sabra and Shatila. 21 families of victims brought a war crimes case to a court in Belgium against Sharon. Hobeika was to testify about Sharon's role. (The court rules in June it has no jurisdiction to hear evidence against accused war criminals not on Belgian soil. See pages 24-27)

29 Jan: In his State of the Union address, Bush declares Iran and Iraq, with North Korea, constitute an "axis of evil". (Later, he adds Libya, Syria and Cuba, to the list of targets.)

17 Feb: By this date, 251 reservists have signed a petition called the "Fighter's Letter" refusing to serve in the Occupied territories.

"Operation Defensive Shield"

29 Mar – end of May: Far from being a spontaneous or a "retaliatory attack" for suicide bombings, the invasion of the Occupied Territories, involves 20,000 troops operating according to plans begun at least two years before.

The IDF reoccupies most PNA self-ruled cities. Jenin is singled out, but despite their overwhelming superiority in arms, the 1000 Israeli soldiers are shocked by the ferocious resistance of some 200 Palestinians. "We were not expecting them to fight so well," one officer admits.

Bush calls it "self-defense", lauding Sharon as "a man of peace". He demands (24 Jun) the PNA leadership be replaced as a condition of a "two-state solution" to the conflict.

1 Aug: UN report on Jenin. (see p. 14, 17)

6 Aug: Israel's minister of the interior plans to strip two Israeli Arabs of citizenship, an unprecedented punishment.

14 Aug: Marwan Barghouti, 43, West Bank organiser of the Intifada, attends a 20-minute hearing in a small Tel Aviv courtroom to hear a seven-count indictment filed against him. He tells the court Israel will only have security when it withdraws from Palestinian lands. (5 Sep) The opening day becomes a trial of the Palestinians versus Israel: squeezed within Courtroom 602, is it the Occupation versus terrorism, as the Israeli prosecution alleges, or is it the Occupation versus the resistance, as Mr Barghouti asserts?

6 Sep: Some 2000 students and other activists in Montreal shut down Concordia University to deny "right" of visiting former Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu to speak against Palestine.

16 Sep: In a speech billed as the one that would provide "proof" of imminent Iraqi aggression, Bush instead delivers an ultimatum that the UN line up against Iraq or the US will act unilaterally. The new National Security Strategy declares:

No war on Iraq

This magazine expresses its full support for all the initiatives which are being taken across the country to oppose the threat of war against Iraq. We consider it crucial to speak out against the US policy and against Canada's facilitation and participation.

All over the world, grave concern is being expressed over the fact that the US, backed by Britain, will use every means to bring about a "regime change" in Iraq, which will also mean an intensified Israeli assault on sovereign Palestine. These powers are attempting to use the United Nations as a vehicle for self-serving purposes.

References to "multilateral action" and "collective self defence" do nothing to shore up the crisis facing the UN as a result of the veto power in the hands of the big powers.

Canada has talked about "international cooperation" and going to war if there is a "multilateral" decision. Cooperation lies in upholding the spirit and the letter of the UN Charter. The rule of law means nothing if not applied equally to the US as well as Iraq.

It means that member nations are duty-bound to oppose all attempts to find pretexts to justify aggression in the name of self-defence.

They are duty-bound to find the ways and means to make sure this does not take place.

We say: No US-led war on Iraq, with or without UN Security Council backing.

It must not pass. ■

The national interests outlined in the National Security Strategy and the objectives articulated in our National Military Strategy form the bases for the Central Command's objectives and supporting strategy. Primary among US interests in the USCENTCOM AOR is uninterrupted secure access to Arabian Gulf oil. That in turn ensures freedom of navigation and access to commercial markets, security of friends and allies, and regional peace and stability through containment of Iran and Iraq and prevention of hostilities between India and Pakistan. Other interests include a comprehensive breakthrough in the Middle East Peace Process, and security of US citizens and property throughout the region.

15-18 Sep: Demonstrations throughout the world commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacre. (See p. 24-27)

18 Sep: Israeli negotiators in NY reject a Palestinian proposal to suspend attacks on civilians in Israel as the first stage in a complete ceasefire. The quartet of international negotiators – the US, UN, EU and Russia – back a "roadmap" to peace that will see a provisional Palestinian state in 2003 ahead of a final settlement in 2005.

20 Sep: Sharon resumes assaulting the PA compound in Ramallah. Peres offers voluntary permanent exile as Arafat's only way out.

Sharon visits Washington, seeking a $10bn loan.

20 Sep – Second anniversary of the al-Aqsa Intifada

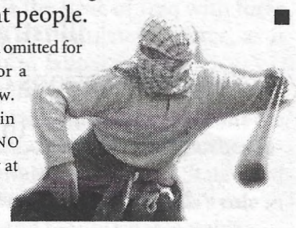
- More than 1,914 Palestinians have been killed directly (by Israeli soldiers, settlers or police) or as an indirect result of the Occupation, since September 2000.
- 71 Palestinians have died after being prevented access to medial treatment, 21 of those were children, 13 were newborn babies.
- 169 have died as part of "targeted killings" (extra-judicial assassinations): 31 were bystanders, 44 "unintended" victims, and 22 children.
- 22.5% were aged 18 or younger, *i.e.*, one out of every five killed
- 60% were shot with live ammunition
- 85% were civilians or not involved in any violent action or attack at the time they were killed
- 17 medical personnel were killed while on duty
- 41,000 Palestinians (estimated) have been injured in the same period, 2,500 permanently disabled including 500 children

The prolonged Israeli closure of the Occupied Territories has destroyed the Palestinian economy and lead to serious damage to infrastructure and civil society:

- 75% of the Palestinian population live in poverty (less than US$2 per day) and unemployment has reached 65%.
- 30% of children under 5 years of age suffer from chronic malnutrition, 21% from acute malnutrition; 45% of children under 5 and 48% of women of childbearing age suffer from moderate to mild anemia
- In the first 15 months of the Intifada, the occupation caused physical damage amounting to $305m. During the month-long invasion in Mar-Apr 2002, the Israeli army destroyed and looted $361m worth of property

Internationally, the media profile of this revolt continues to portray it as an impasse and stand-off between "armed" suicide bombers and "armed" tiny units of Palestinian fighters on the one hand and the largest army in the ME sitting on the world's fifth-largest nuclear arsenal on the other. Oblivious to these misrepresentations, a popular non-violent resistance continues to develop, including peaceful marches in the streets with people protesting the three-month long curfew regime, the siege and the continued killing of innocent people. ■

Many citations have been omitted for space reasons. Watch for a full edition at www.shunpiking.com later in 2002. Source for UNO events is the chronology at http://palestine-un.org/chron.



arms and the israelis

Israel is the largest arms buyer among "developing" countries, according to a US Congressional Research Service study, *Conventional Arms Transfer to Developing Nations 1994-2001*. The report is based on arms contracts between suppliers and the armies of the world, and weapons deliveries.

▲ *Kfir attack planes, Sri Lanka*

The US was the leading country in arms transfers agreements to developing nations last year, signing almost $7bn in contracts, followed by Russia, with $5.7bn and China, with $600m.

The US led in overall arms transfer agreements to developed and developing countries, with $12.1bn, followed by Russia ($5.8bn), and France ($2.9bn). Of nations categorised as "developing", Israel led in signing arms contracts, buying $2.5bn in conventional arms, followed by China ($2.1bn) and Egypt ($2bn).

The Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University recently revealed that, in recent years, Israel has signed arms deals with Indonesia (which has no diplomatic relations with Israel), Cambodia (to upgrade MiG-21s), Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Zambia, Uganda, Nicaragua, Chile, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechoslo-vakia and Singapore.

In Sri Lanka, retrofitted Kfir C.2 (Kfir C-7 (5), Kfir TC-2 (2), fighter bombers (based on stolen French Mirage-1 jet blueprints, using GE and/or French Atar jet engines) have strafed Tamil schools and hospitals on the Jaffna peninsula in a civil war in which over 60,000 people have been killed. Patrol boats have attacked Tamil fishermen. (Its other main customers for Kfir TC-2s are Colombia and Ecuador. Sangum Research Project).

In the 1970s Israel's largest customer was apartheid South Africa, enabling it to circumvent a UN arms embargo. The South African Air Force and Navy, deployed primarily to attack the African National Congress and intervene in neighbouring states, was largely armed and trained by Israel. Israel assisted this regime in developing its military strategies for Namibia and Angola. On 14 December 1981, the *New York Times* reported that then-Defence Minister Ariel Sharon had returned from ten days of training the South African army in Namibia.

The US is committed to $7bn in military aid to Israel *annually* over the next seven years.

Israel's politicians boast of its role as a US intermediary. As a matter of long-term strategy, Minister Yaakov Meridor told *Ha'Aretz:*

"We will say to the Americans; don't compete with us in Taiwan, don't compete with us in South Africa, don't compete with us in the Caribbean or in other places where you cannot sell arms directly. Let us do it. You will sell ammunition and equipment through an intermediary. Israel will be your intermediary." (25/8/81)

With up to 500 nuclear weapons and a sophisticated delivery system, Israel recently surpassed Britain as the world's fifth largest nuclear power.

It is the only country in the Middle East known to possess both nuclear weapons as well as neutron bombs and the systems necessary for delivering them to targets. During the 1973 war the Israelis actually threatened to use their nuclear weapons and were sending them to the battlefield when the Americans declared a "nuclear alert" and massively intervened to defend Israel.

During the Carter administration, Israel and the apartheid Afrikaner regime in South Africa tested a nuclear device near the Indian Ocean. The Carter administration immediately orchestrated a cover-up, publicly claiming that it was a meteorite hitting the satellite.

In November 1998 *The Sunday Times* revealed that Israel's biological institute in Nes Tziyona was working on a biological "ethno-bomb" that would target victims by ethnic origin.

"The intention is to use the ability of viruses and certain bacteria to alter the DNA inside their host's living cells. The scientists are trying to engineer deadly micro-organisms that attack only those bearing the distinctive genes," the newspaper reported.

Israel is the only acknowledged nuclear power to refuse to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaties and related protocols. In 2000 it conducted nuclear submarine rocket tests in the Indian Ocean.

In 1981, when Israel, using long-range US planes, bombed the Osirak nuclear reactor outside of Baghdad within months of that plant going on line, it became the first and only country after the US to deliberately detonate radioactive weapons material as an act of war. Israel has been deploying chemical weapons against Palestinian fighters for some time, at Karameh in March, 1968 and since.

■ Third edition of the pamphlet from the group **Jews for Justice in the Middle East**, abridged, with illustrations and captions created for this *Dossier.*

▶ *The evacuation of the Palestinian village of Faluja in March 1949*

The Origin of the

Introduction

The standard Zionist position is that they showed up in Palestine in the late 19th century to reclaim their ancestral homeland. Jews bought land and started building up the Jewish community there. They were met with increasingly violent opposition from the Palestinian Arabs, presumably stemming from the Arabs' inherent anti-Semitism. The Zionists were then forced to defend themselves and, in one form or another, this same situation continues up to today.

The problem with this explanation is that it is simply not true, as the documentary evidence will show. What really happened was that the Zionist movement, from the beginning, looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the indigenous Arab population so that Israel could be a wholly Jewish state, or as much as was possible. Land bought by the Jewish National Fund was held in the name of the Jewish people and could never be sold or even leased back to Arabs (a situation which continues to the present).

The Arab community, as it became increasingly aware of Zionist intentions, strenuously opposed further Jewish immigration and land buying as it posed a real and imminent danger to the very existence of Arab society in Palestine. Due to this opposition, the entire Zionist project could never have been realized without the military backing of the British. The vast majority of the population of Palestine, by the way, had been Arabic since the seventh century AD (over 1200 years).

In short, Zionism was based on a faulty, colonialist world view that the rights of the indigenous inhabitants did not matter. The Arabs' opposition to Zionism was not based on anti-Semitism, but rather on a totally reasonable fear of the dispossession of their people.

One further point: being Jewish ourselves, our position is critical of Zionism but in no way anti-Semitic. We do not believe that the Jews acted worse than any other group might have acted in their situation. The Zionists (who were a distinct minority of the Jewish people until after WWII) had an understandable desire to establish a place where Jews could be masters of their own fate, given the bleak history of Jewish oppression. Especially as the danger to European Jewry crystalized in the late 1930s and after, the actions of the Zionists were propelled by real desperation.

But so were the actions of the Arabs. The mythic "land without people for a people without land" was already home to 700,000 Palestinians in 1919. This is the root of the problem, as we shall see.

Palestine-Israel Conflict

Early History

Before the Hebrews first migrated there around 1800 BC, the land of Canaan was occupied by Canaanites

Between 3000 and 1100 BC, Canaanite civilization covered what is today Israel, the West Bank, Lebanon and much of Syria and Jordan... Those who remained in the Jerusalem hills after the Romans expelled the Jews [in the second century AD] were a potpourri: farmers and vineyard growers, pagans and converts to Christianity, descendants of the Arabs, Persians, Samaritans, Greeks and old Canaanite tribes.

Marcia Kunstel & Joseph Albright, Their Promised Land

The Palestinians' ancestral heritage

But all these [different peoples who had come to Canaan] were additions, sprigs grafted onto the parent tree... And that parent tree was Canaanite... [The Arab invaders of the 7th century AD] made Moslem converts of the natives, settled down as residents, and intermarried with them, with the result that all are now so completely Arabized that we cannot tell where the Canaanites leave off and the Arabs begin.

Illene Beatty, Arab and Jew in the Land of Canaan

The Jewish kingdoms were only one of many periods in ancient Palestine

The extended kingdoms of David and Solomon, on which the Zionists base their territorial demands, endured for only about 73 years... Then it fell apart... [Even] if we allow independence to the entire life of the ancient Jewish kingdoms, from David's conquest of Canaan in 1000 BC to the wiping out of Judah in 586 BC, we arrive at [only] a 414-year Jewish rule.

Illene Beatty, Arab and Jew in the Land of Canaan

More on Canaanite civilization

Recent archeological digs have provided evidence that Jerusalem was a big and fortified city already in 1800 BCE... Findings show that the sophisticated water system heretofor attributed to the conquering Israelites predated them by eight centuries and was even more sophisticated than imagined... Dr. Ronny Reich, who directed the excavation along with Eli Shuikrun, said the entire system was built as a single complex by Canaanites in the Middle Bronze Period, around 1800 BCE.

The Jewish Bulletin, July 31st, 1998

How long has Palestine been a specifically Arab country?

Palestine became a predominately Arab and Islamic country by the end of the seventh century. Almost immediately thereafter its boundaries and its characteristics – including its name in Arabic, Filastin – became known to the entire Islamic world, as much for its fertility and beauty as for its religious significance... In 1516, Palestine became a province of the Ottoman Empire, but this made it no less fertile, no less Arab or Islamic... 60% of the population was in agriculture; the balance was divided between townspeople and a relatively small nomadic group. All these people believed themselves to belong in a land called Palestine, despite their feelings that they were also members of a large Arab nation... Despite the steady arrival in Palestine of Jewish colonists after 1882, it is important to realize that not until the few weeks immediately preceding the establishment of Israel in the spring of 1948 was there ever anything other than a huge Arab majority. For example, the Jewish population in 1931 was 174,606 against a total of 1,033,314.

Edward Said, The Question of Palestine

How did land ownership traditionally work in Palestine and when did it change?

[The Ottoman Land Code of 1858] required the registration in the name of individual owners of agricultural land, most of which had never previously been registered and which had formerly been treated according to traditional forms of land tenure, in the hill areas of Palestine generally *masha'a*, or communal usufruct. The new law meant that for the first time a peasant could be deprived not of title to his land, which he had rarely held before, but rather of the right to live on it, cultivate it and pass it on to his heirs, which had formerly been inalienable...Under the provisions of the 1858 law, communal rights of tenure were often ignored...Instead, members of the upper classes, adept at manipulating or circumventing the legal process, registered large areas of land as theirs...The *fellahin* [peasants] naturally considered the land to be theirs, and often discovered that they had ceased to be the legal owners only when the land was sold to Jewish settlers by an absentee landlord...Not only was the land being purchased; its Arab cultivators were being dispossessed and replaced by foreigners who had overt political objectives in Palestine.

Rashid Khalidi, Blaming The Victims, ed. Said and Hitchens

Was Arab opposition to the arrival of Zionists based on inherent anti-Semitism or a real sense of danger?

The aim of the [Jewish National] Fund was 'to redeem the land of Palestine as the inalienable possession of the Jewish people.'... As early as 1891, Zionist leader Ahad Ha'am wrote that the Arabs 'understood very well what we were doing and what we were aiming at'...At various locations in northern Palestine Arab farmers refused to move from land the Fund purchased from absentee owners, and the Turkish authorities, at the Fund's request, evicted them...The indigenous Jews of Palestine also reacted negatively to Zionism. They did not see the need for a Jewish state in Palestine and did not want to exacerbate relations with the Arabs.

John Quigley, Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice

Before the 20th century, most Jews in Palestine belonged to old *Yishuv*, or community, that had settled more for religious than for political reasons. There was little if any conflict between them and the Arab population. Tensions began after the first Zionist settlers arrived in the 1880s...when [they] purchased land from absentee Arab owners, leading to dispossession of the peasants who had cultivated it.

Don Peretz, The Arab-Israeli Dispute

[During the Middle Ages,] North Africa and the Arab Middle East became places of refuge and a haven for the persecuted Jews of Spain and elsewhere... In the Holy Land... they lived together in [relative] harmony, a harmony only disrupted when the Zionists began to claim that Palestine was the 'rightful' possession of the 'Jewish people' to the exclusion of its Moslem and Christian inhabitants.

Sami Hadawi, Bitter Harvest

▶

Jews attitude towards Arabs when reaching Palestine

Serfs they (the Jews) were in the lands of the Diaspora, and suddenly they find themselves in freedom [in Palestine]; and this change has awakened in them an inclination to despotism. They treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause, and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable and dangerous inclination.

Zionist writer Ahad Ha'am, quoted in Sami Hadawi, Bitter Harvest

Proposals for Arab-Jewish Cooperation

An article by Yitzhak Epstein, published in *Hashiloah* in 1907... called for a new Zionist policy towards the Arabs after 30 years of settlement activity... Like Ahad-Ha'am in 1891, Epstein claims that no good land is vacant, so Jewish settlement meant Arab dispossession... Epstein's solution to the problem, so that a new "Jewish question" may be avoided, is the creation of a bi-national, non-exclusive program of settlement and development. Purchasing land should not involve the dispossession of poor sharecroppers. It should mean creating a joint farming community, where the Arabs will enjoy modern technology. Schools, hospitals and libraries should be non-exclusivist and education bilingual... The vision of non-exclusivist, peaceful cooperation to replace the practice of dispossession found few takers. Epstein was maligned and scorned for his faintheartedness.

Israeli author, Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, Original Sins

Was Palestine the only, or even preferred, destination of Jews facing persecution when the Zionist movement started?

The pogroms forced many Jews to leave Russia. Societies known as 'Lovers of Zion,' which were forerunners of the Zionist organization, convinced some of the frightened emigrants to go to Palestine. There, they argued, Jews would rebuild the ancient Jewish 'Kingdom of David and Solomon,' Most Russian Jews ignored their appeal and fled to Europe and the United States. By 1900, almost a million Jews had settled in the United States alone.

Our Roots Are Still Alive by The People Press Palestine Book Project

The British Mandate Period 1920-1948

The Balfour Declaration promises a Jewish Homeland in Palestine

The Balfour Declaration, made in November 1917 by the British Government... was made a) by a European power, b) about a non-European territory, c) in flat disregard of both the presence and wishes of the native majority resident in that territory...[As Balfour himself wrote in 1919], 'The contradiction between the letter of the Covenant (the Anglo-French Declaration of 1918 promising the Arabs of the former Ottoman colonies that as a reward for supporting the Allies they could have their independence) is even more flagrant in the case of the independent nation of Palestine than in that of the independent nation of Syria. For in Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country...The four powers are committed to Zionism and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desire and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.'

Edward Said, The Question of Palestine

Wasn't Palestine a wasteland before the Jews started immigrating there?

Britain's high commissioner for Palestine, John Chancellor, recommended total suspension of Jewish immigration and land purchase to protect Arab agriculture. He said 'all cultivable land was occupied; that no cultivable land now in possession of the indigenous population could be sold to Jews without creating a class of landless Arab cultivators'... The Colonial Office rejected the recommendation.

John Quigley, Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice

Were the early Zionists planning on living side by side with Arabs?

In 1919, the American King-Crane Commission spent six weeks in Syria and Palestine, interviewing delegations and reading petitions. Their report stated:

> The commissioners began their study of Zionism with minds predisposed in its favor... The fact came out repeatedly in the Commission's conferences with Jewish representatives that the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, by various forms of purchase...

If [the] principle [of self-determination] is to rule, and so the wishes of Palestine's population are to be decisive as to what is to be done with Palestine, then it is to be remembered that the non-Jewish population of Palestine – nearly nine-tenths of the whole – are emphatically against the entire Zionist program...To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the principle just quoted... No British officers, consulted by the Commissioners, believed that the Zionist program could be carried out except by force of arms. The officers generally thought that a force of not less than 50,000 soldiers would be required even to initiate the program. That of itself is evidence of a strong sense of the injustice of the Zionist program... The initial claim, often submitted by Zionist representatives, that they have a 'right' to Palestine based on occupation of two thousand years ago, can barely be seriously considered.

Quoted in The Israel-Arab Reader, ed. Laquer and Rubin

Zionist land policy was incorporated in the Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine...'land is to be acquired as Jewish property and...the title to the lands acquired is to be taken in the name of the Jewish National Fund, to the end that the same shall be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people.' The provision goes to stipulate that 'the Agency shall promote agricultural colonization based on Jewish labour'...The effect of this Zionist colonization policy on the Arabs was that land acquired by Jews became extra-territorialized. It ceased to be land from which the Arabs could ever hope to gain any advantage...

The Zionists made no secret of their intentions, for as early as 1921, Dr. Eder, a member of the Zionist Commission, boldly told the Court of Inquiry, 'there can be only one National Home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish preponderance as soon as the numbers of the race are sufficiently increased.' He then asked that only Jews should be allowed to bear arms.

Sami Hadawi, Bitter Harvest

Given Arab opposition, did the Zionists support steps towards majority rule in Palestine?

Clearly, the last thing the Zionists really wanted was that all the inhabitants of Palestine should have an equal say in running the country... [Chaim] Weizmann had impressed on Churchill that representative government would have spelled the end of the [Jewish] National Home in Palestine...[Churchill declared,] 'The present form of government will continue for many years. Step by step we shall develop representative institutions leading to full self-government, but our children's children will have passed away before that is accomplished.'

David Hirst, The Gun and the Olive Branch

Denial of the Arabs' right to self-determination

Even if nobody lost their land, the [Zionist] program was unjust in principle because it denied majority political rights...Zionism, in principle, could not allow the natives to exercise their political rights because it would mean the end of the Zionist enterprise.

Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, Original Sins

Arab resistance to Pre-Israeli Zionism

In 1936-9, the Palestinian Arabs attempted a nationalist revolt... David Ben-Gurion, eminently a realist, recognized its nature. In internal discussion, he noted that 'in our political argument abroad, we minimize Arab opposition to us,' but he urged, 'let us not ignore the truth among ourselves.' The truth was that 'politically we are the aggressors and they defend themselves... The country is theirs, because they inhabit it, whereas we want to come here and settle down, and in their view we want to take away from them their country, while we are still outside'... The revolt was crushed by the British, with considerable brutality."

Noam Chomsky, The Fateful Triangle

Gandhi on the Palestine conflict – 1938

Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French…What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct…If they [the Jews] must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the goodwill of the Arabs… As it is, they are co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them. I am not defending the Arab excesses. I wish they had chosen the way of non-violence in resisting what they rightly regard as an unacceptable encroachment upon their country. But according to the accepted canons of right and wrong, nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds.

Mahatma Gandhi, quoted in A Land of Two Peoples, ed. by Mendes-Flohr

Didn't the Zionists legally buy much of the land before Israel was established?

In 1948, at the moment that Israel declared itself a state, it legally owned 5.6% of the land of Palestine…After 1940, when the mandatory authority restricted Jewish land ownership to specific zones inside Palestine, there continued to be illegal buying (and selling) within the 65% of the total area restricted to Arabs.

Thus when the partition plan was announced in 1947 it included land held illegally by Jews, which was incorporated as a *fait accompli* inside the borders of the Jewish state. And after Israel announced its statehood, an impressive series of laws legally assimilated huge tracts of Arab land (whose proprietors had become refugees, and were pronounced 'absentee landlords' in order to expropriate their lands and prevent their return under any circumstances).

Edward Said, The Question of Palestine

The UN Partition of Palestine

Why did the UN recommend the plan partitioning Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state?

By this time [November 1947] the United States had emerged as the most aggressive proponent of partition…The United States got the General Assembly to delay a vote 'to gain time to bring certain Latin American republics into line with its own views.'…Some delegates charged US officials with 'diplomatic intimidation.' Without 'terrific pressure' from the United States on 'governments which cannot afford to risk American reprisals,' said an anonymous editorial writer, the resolution 'would never have passed.'

John Quigley, Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice

Why was this Truman's position?

I am sorry gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents.

President Harry Truman, quoted in Anti Zionism, ed. by Teikener, Abed-Rabbo & Mezvinsky

Was the partition plan fair to both Arabs and Jews?

Arab rejection was… based on the fact that, while the population of the Jewish state was to be [only half] Jewish with the Jews owning less than 10 per cent of the Jewish state land area, the Jews were to be established as the ruling body – a settlement which no self-respecting people would accept without protest, to say the least… The action of the United Nations conflicted with the basic principles for which the world organization was established, namely, to uphold the right of all peoples to self-determination. By denying the Palestine Arabs, who formed the two-thirds majority of the country, the right to decide for themselves, the United Nations had violated its own charter.

Sami Hadawi, Bitter Harvest

Were the Zionists prepared to settle for the territory granted in the 1947 partition?

While the *Yishuv's* leadership formally accepted the 1947 Partition Resolution, large sections of Israel's society – including… Ben-Gurion – were opposed to or extremely unhappy with partition and from early on viewed the war as an ideal opportunity to expand the new state's borders beyond the UN earmarked partition boundaries and at the expense of the Palestinians."

Israeli historian, Benny Morris, *Tikkun*, March/April 1998

Public versus private pronouncements on this question

In internal discussion in 1938 [David Ben-Gurion] stated that 'after we become a strong force, as a result of the creation of a state, we shall abolish partition and expand into the whole of Palestine'… In 1948, Menachem Begin declared that: **'The partition of the Homeland is illegal. It will never be recognized. The signature of institutions and individuals of the partition agreement is invalid. It will not bind the Jewish people. Jerusalem was and will forever be our capital. Eretz Israel (the land of Israel) will be restored to the people of Israel, All of it. And forever.'**

Noam Chomsky, The Fateful Triangle

The war begins

In December 1947, the British announced that they would withdraw from Palestine by May 15, 1948. Palestinians in Jerusalem and Jaffa called a general strike against the partition. Fighting broke out in Jerusalem's streets almost immediately… Violent incidents mushroomed into all-out war… **During that fateful April of 1948, eight out of thirteen major Zionist military attacks on Palestinians occurred in the territory granted to the Arab state.**

Our Roots Are Still Alive by the People Press Palestine Book Project

Zionists' disrespect of UN boundaries

Before the end of the mandate and, therefore before any possible intervention by Arab states, the Jews, taking advantage of their superior military preparation and organization, had occupied… most of the Arab cities in Palestine before May 15, 1948. Tiberias was occupied on April 19, 1948, Haifa on April 22, Jaffa on April 28, the Arab quarters in the New City of Jerusalem on April 30, Beisan on May 8, Safad on May 10 and Acre on May 14, 1948… **In contrast, the Palestine Arabs did not seize any of the territories reserved for the Jewish state under the partition resolution.**

British author, Henry Cattan, Palestine, The Arabs and Israel

Culpability for escalation of the fighting

Menachem Begin, the Leader of the Irgun, tells

▲ **Jerusalem, 1933. British troops attack a Palestinian demonstration protesting the mass Jewish immigration into Palestine. They crush the Arab Revolt of 1936-9 'with considerable brutality'**

how 'in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, we were the first to pass from the defensive to the offensive... Arabs began to flee in terror...Hagana was carrying out successful attacks on other fronts, while all the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter'... The Israelis now allege that the Palestine war began with the entry of the Arab armies into Palestine after 15 May 1948. But that was the second phase of the war; they overlook the massacres, expulsions and dispossessions which took place prior to that date and which necessitated Arab states' intervention.

Sami Hadawi, Bitter Harvest

The Deir Yassin Massacre of Palestinians by Jewish soldiers

For the entire day of April 9, 1948, Irgun and Lehi soldiers carried out the slaughter in a cold and premeditated fashion...The attackers 'lined men, women and children up against the walls and shot them,'...The ruthlessness of the attack on Deir Yassin shocked Jewish and world opinion alike, drove fear and panic into the Arab population, and led to the flight of unarmed civilians from their homes all over the country.

Israeli author, Simha Flapan, The Birth of Israel

Was Deir Yassin the only act of its kind?

By 1948, the Jew was not only able to 'defend himself' but to commit massive atrocities as well. Indeed, according to the former director of the Israeli army archives, 'in almost every village occupied by us during the War of Independence, acts were committed which are defined as war crimes, such as murders, massacres, and rapes'... Uri Milstein, the authoritative Israeli military historian of the 1948 war, goes one step further, maintaining that **'every skirmish ended in a massacre of Arabs.'**

Norman Finkelstein, Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

Statehood and Expulsion – 1948

What was the Arab reaction to the announcement of the creation of the state of Israel?

The armies of the Arab states entered the war immediately after the State of Israel was founded in May. **Fighting continued, almost all of it within the territory assigned to the Palestinian state**... About 700,000 Palestinians fled or were expelled in the 1948 conflict.

Noam Chomsky, The Fateful Triangle

Was the part of Palestine assigned to a Jewish state in mortal danger from the Arab armies?

The Arab League hastily called for its member countries to send regular army troops into Palestine. They were ordered to secure only the sections of Palestine given to the Arabs under the partition plan. But these regular armies were ill-equipped and lacked any central command to coordinate their efforts... [Jordan's King Abdullah] promised [the Israelis and the British] that his troops, the Arab Legion, the only real fighting force among the Arab armies, would avoid fighting with Jewish settlements... Yet Western historians record this as the moment when the young state of Israel fought off 'the overwhelming hordes' of five Arab countries. In reality, the Israeli offensive against the Palestinians intensified.

Our Roots Are Still Alive, by the Peoples Press Palestine Book Project

Ethnic cleansing of the Arab population of Palestine

Joseph Weitz was the director of the Jewish National Land Fund...On December 19, 1940, he wrote: 'It must be clear that there is no room for both peoples in this country...The Zionist enterprise so far...has been fine and good in its own time, and could do with 'land buying' – but this will not bring about the State of Israel; that must come all at once, in the manner of a Salvation (this is the secret of the Messianic idea); and there is no way besides transferring the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries, to transfer them all; except maybe for Bethlehem, Nazareth and Old Jerusalem, we must not leave a single village, not a single tribe'...There were literally hundreds of such statements made by Zionists.

Edward Said, The Question of Palestine

Following the outbreak of 1936, no mainstream (Zionist) leader was able to conceive of future coexistence without a clear physical separation between the two peoples – achievable only by transfer and expulsion. Publicly they all continued to speak of coexistence and to attribute the violence to a small minority of zealots and agitators. But this was merely a public pose... Ben Gurion summed up: 'With compulsory transfer we (would) have a vast area (for settlement)...I support compulsory transfer. I don't see anything immoral in it.'

Israel historian, Benny Morris, Righteous Victims

Ben-Gurion clearly wanted as few Arabs as possible to remain in the Jewish state. He hoped to see them flee. He said as much to his colleagues and aides in meetings in August, September and October [1948]. But no [general] expulsion policy was ever enunciated and Ben-Gurion always refrained from issuing clear or written expulsion orders; he preferred that his generals 'understand' what he wanted done. He wished to avoid going down in history as the 'great expeller' and he did not want the Israeli government to be implicated in a morally questionable policy...But while there was no 'expulsion policy', the July and October [1948] offensives were characterized by far more expulsions and, indeed, brutality towards Arab civilians than the first half of the war.

Benny Morris, The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949

Didn't the Palestinians leave their homes voluntarily during the 1948 war?

Israeli propaganda has largely relinquished the claim that the Palestinian exodus of 1948 was 'self-inspired'. Official circles implicitly concede that the Arab population fled as a result of Israeli action – whether directly, as in the case of Lydda and Ramleh, or indirectly, due to the panic that and similar actions (the Deir Yassin massacre) inspired in Arab population centers throughout Palestine. However, even though the historical record has been grudgingly set straight, the Israeli establishment still refused to accept moral or political responsibility for the refugee problem it – or its predecessors – actively created.

Peretz Kidron, quoted in Blaming the Victims, ed. Said and Hitchens.

Arab orders to evacuate non-existent

The BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) monitored all Middle Eastern broadcasts throughout 1948. The records, and companion ones by a United States monitoring unit, can be seen at the British Museum. There was not a single order or appeal, or suggestion about evacuation from Palestine, from any Arab radio station, inside or outside Palestine, in 1948. There is a repeated monitored record of Arab appeals, even flat orders, to the civilians of Palestine to stay put.

Erskine Childers, British researcher, quoted in Sami Hadawi, Bitter Harvest

That Ben-Gurion's ultimate aim was to evacuate as much of the Arab population as possible from the Jewish state can hardly be doubted, if only from the variety of means he employed to achieve his purpose...most decisively, the destruction of whole villages and the eviction of their inhabitants...even [if] they had not participated in the war and had stayed in Israel hoping to live in peace and equality, as promised in the Declaration of Independence.

Israeli author, Simha Flapan, The Birth of Israel

The deliberate destruction of Arab villages to prevent return of Palestinians

During May [1948] ideas about how to consolidate and give permanence to the Palestinian exile began to crystallize, and the destruction of villages was immediately perceived as a primary means of achieving this aim... [Even earlier,] On 10 April, Haganah units took Abu Shusha... The village was destroyed that night... Khulda was levelled by Jewish bulldozers on 20 April... Abu Zureiq was completely demolished... Al Mansi and An Naghnaghiya, to the southeast, were also levelled. By mid-1949, the majority of [350 depopulated Arab villages] were either completely or partly in ruins and uninhabitable.

Benny Morris, The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949

After the fighting was over, why didn't the Palestinians return to their homes?

The first UN General Assembly resolution – Number 194 – affirming the right of Palestinians to return to their homes and property, was passed on 11 December 1948. It has been reaffirmed no less than 28 times since that first

date. Whereas the moral and political right of a person to return to his place of uninterrupted residence is acknowledged everywhere, Israel has negated the possibility of return...[and] systematically and juridically made it impossible, on any grounds whatever, for the Arab Palestinian to return, be compensated for his property, or live in Israel as a citizen equal before the law with a Jewish Israeli.

Edward Said, The Question of Palestine

Is there any justification for this expropriation of land?

The fact that the Arabs fled in terror, because of real fear of a repetition of the 1948 Zionist massacres, is no reason for denying them their homes, fields and livelihoods. Civilians caught in an area of military activity generally panic. But they have always been able to return to their homes when the danger subsides. Military conquest does not abolish private rights to property; nor does it entitle the victor to confiscate the homes, property and personal belongings of the noncombatant civilian population. The seizure of Arab property by the Israelis was an outrage.

Sami Hadawi, Bitter Harvest

How about the negotiations after the 1948-1949 wars?

[At Lausanne,] Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians were trying to save by negotiations what they had lost in the war – a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Israel, however... [preferred] tenuous armistice agreements to a definite peace that would involve territorial concessions and the repatriation of even a token number of refugees. The refusal to recognize the Palestinians' right to self-determination and statehood proved over the years to be the main source of the turbulence, violence, and bloodshed that came to pass.

Israeli author, Simha Flapan, The Birth Of Israel

Israel admitted to UN but reneged on the conditions under which it was admitted

The [Lausanne] conference officially opened on 27 April 1949. On 12 May the [UN's] Palestine Conciliation Committee reaped its only success when it induced the parties to sign a joint protocol on the framework for a comprehensive peace...Israel for the first time accepted the principle of repatriation [of the Arab refugees] and the internationalization of Jerusalem. . . [but] they did so as a mere exercise in public relations aimed at strengthening Israel's international image...Walter Eytan, the head of the Israeli delegation, [stated]...'My main purpose was to begin to undermine the protocol of 12 May, which we had signed only under duress of our struggle for admission to the UN. Refusal to sign would...have immediately been reported to the Secretary-General and the various governments.'

Israeli historian, Ilan Pappe, The Making of the Arab-Israel Conflict, 1947-1951

The Preamble of this resolution of admission included a safeguarding clause as follows: 'Recalling its resolution of 29 November 1947 (on partition) and 11 December 1948 (on reparation and compensation), and taking note of the declarations and explanations made by the representative of the Government of Israel before the ad hoc Political Committee in respect of the implementation of the said resolutions, the General Assembly... decides to admit Israel into membership in the United Nations.'

Here, it must be observed, is a condition and an undertaking to implement the resolutions mentioned. There was no question of such implementation being conditioned on the conclusion of peace on Israeli terms as the Israelis later claimed to justify their non-compliance.

Sami Hadawi, Bitter Harvest

What was the fate of the Palestinians who had now become refugees?

The winter of 1949, the first winter of exile for more than 750,000 Palestinians, was cold and hard...Families huddled in caves, abandoned huts, or makeshift tents...Many of the starving were only miles away from their own vegetable gardens and orchards in occupied Palestine – the new state of Israel...At the end of 1949 the United Nations finally acted. It set up the United Nations Relief and Works Administration (UNRWA) to take over sixty refugee camps from voluntary agencies. It managed to keep people alive, but only barely.

Our Roots Are Still Alive by The Peoples Press Palestine Book Project

The 1967 War: Israeli Occupies the West Bank and Gaza

Did the Egyptians actually start the 1967 war, as Israel originally claimed?

The former Commander of the Air Force, General Ezer Weitzman, regarded as a hawk, stated that there was 'no threat of destruction' but that the attack on Egypt, Jordan and Syria was nevertheless justified so that Israel could 'exist according the scale, spirit, and quality she now embodies.'...Menahem Begin had the following remarks to make: 'In June 1967, we again had a choice. The Egyptian Army concentrations in the Sinai approaches do not prove that Nasser was really about to attack us. We must be honest with ourselves. We decided to attack him.'

Noam Chomsky, The Fateful Triangle

I do not think Nasser wanted war. The two divisions he sent to The Sinai would not have been sufficient to launch an offensive war. He knew it and we knew it.

Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's Chief of Staff in 1967, in *Le Monde*, 2/28/68

Moshe Dayan speaks out posthumously on the Golan Heights

Moshe Dayan, the celebrated commander who, as Defense Minister in 1967, gave the order to conquer the Golan...'[said] **many of the firefights with the Syrians were deliberately provoked by Israel,** and the kibbutz residents who pressed the Government to take the Golan Heights did so less for security than for the farmland...[Dayan stated] 'They didn't even try to hide their greed for the land...We would send a tractor to plow some area where it wasn't possible to do anything, in the demilitarized area, and knew in advance that the Syrians would start to shoot. If they didn't shoot, we would tell the tractor to advance further, until in the end the Syrians would get annoyed and shoot...And then we would use artillery and later the air force also, and that's how it was...The Syrians, on the fourth day of the war, were not a threat to us.'

The New York Times, May 11, 1997

The history of Israeli expansionism

The acceptance of partition does not commit us to renounce Transjordan; one does not demand from anybody to give up his vision. We shall accept a state in the boundaries fixed today. But the boundaries of Zionist aspirations are the concern of the Jewish people and no external factor will be able to limit them.

David Ben-Gurion, in 1936, quoted in Noam Chomsky, The Fateful Triangle.

The main danger which Israel, as a 'Jewish state', poses to its own people, to other Jews and to its neighbors, is its ideologically motivated pursuit of territorial expansion and the inevitable series of wars resulting from this aim...**No Zionist politician has ever repudiated Ben-Gurion's idea that Israeli policies must be based (within the limits of practical considerations) on the restoration of Biblical borders as the borders of the Jewish state.**

Israeli professor, Israel Shahak, Jewish History, Jewish Religion: The Weight of 3000 Years

But wasn't the occupation of Arab lands necessary to protect Israel's security?

Senator [J.William Fulbright] proposed in 1970 that America should guarantee Israel's security in a formal treaty, protecting her with armed forces if necessary. In return, Israel would retire to the borders of 1967. The UN Security Council would guarantee this arrangement, and thereby bring the Soviet Union – then a supplier of arms and political aid to the Arabs – into compliance. As Israeli troops were withdrawn from the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank they would be replaced by a UN peacekeeping force. Israel would agree to accept a certain number of Palestinians and the rest would be settled in a Palestinian state outside Israel.

The plan drew favorable editorial support in the United States. The proposal, however, was flatly rejected by Israel. 'The whole affair disgusted Fulbright,' writes [his biographer Randall] Woods. 'The Israelis were not even willing to act in their own self-interest.'

Allan Brownfield in *Issues of the American Council for Judaism.* Fall 1997.[Ed. – This was one of many such proposals]

What happened after the 1967 war?

In violation of international law, Israel has confiscated over 52 per cent of the land in the West Bank and 30 per cent of the Gaza Strip for military use or for settlement by Jewish civilians...From 1967 to 1982, Israel's military government demolished 1,338 Palestinian homes on the West Bank. **Over this period, more than 300,000 Palestinians were detained without trial for various periods by Israeli security forces.**

Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation, ed. Lockman and Beinin

World opinion on the legality of Israeli control of the West Bank and Gaza

Under the UN Charter there can lawfully be no territorial gains from war, even by a state acting in self-defense. The response of other states to Israel's occupation shows a virtually unanimous opinion that even if Israel's action was defensive, its retention of the West Bank and Gaza Strip was not... The [UN] General Assembly characterized Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza as a denial of self determination and hence a 'serious and increasing threat to international peace and security.'

John Quigley, *Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice.*

Examples of the effects of Israeli occupation

A study of students at Bethlehem University reported by the Coordinating Committee of International NGOs in Jerusalem showed that many families frequently go five days a week without running water... The study goes further to report that, 'water quotas restrict usage by Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza, while Israeli settlers have almost unlimited amounts.'

A summer trip to a Jewish settlement on the edge of the Judean desert less than five miles from Bethlehem confirmed this water inequity for us. While Bethlehemites were buying water from tank trucks at highly inflated rates, the lawns were green in the settlement. Sprinklers were going at mid day in the hot August sunshine. Sounds of children swimming in the outdoor pool added to the unreality.

Betty Jane Bailey, in *The Link*, December 1996

You have to remember that 90% of children two years old or more have experienced – some many, many times – the [Israeli] army breaking into the home, beating relatives, destroying things. Many were beaten themselves, had bones broken, were shot, tear gassed, or had these things happen to siblings and neighbors...The emotional aspect of the child is affected by the [lack of] security. He needs to feel safe. We see the consequences later if he does not. In our research, we have found that children who are exposed to trauma tend to be more extreme in their behaviors and, later, in their political beliefs.

Dr Samir Quota, director of research for the Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, quoted in *The Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 1996, p.84

There is nothing quite like the misery one feels listening to a 35-year-old [Palestinian] man who worked fifteen years as an illegal day labourer in Israel in order to save up money to build a house for his family only to be shocked one day upon returning from work to find that the house and all that was in it had been flattened by an Israeli bulldozer. When I asked why this was done – the land, after all, was his – I was told that a paper given to him the next day by an Israeli soldier stated that he had built the structure without a license. Where else in the world are people required to have a license (always denied them) to build on their own property? Jews can build, but never Palestinians. This is apartheid.

Edward Said, in *The Nation*, May 4, 1998

All Jewish settlements in territories occupied in the 1967 war are a direct violation of the Geneva Conventions, which Israel signed

The Geneva Convention requires an occupying power to change the existing order as little as possible during its tenure. One aspect of this obligation is that it must leave the territory to the people it finds there. It may not bring its own people to populate the territory. This prohibition is found in the convention's Article 49, which states, 'The occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.'

John Quigley, Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice

Excerpts from the US State Department's reports during the Intifada

Following are some excerpts from the US State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices from 1988 to 1991:

1988: Many avoidable deaths and injuries were caused because Israeli soldiers frequently used gunfire in situations that did not present mortal danger to troops...IDF troops used clubs to break limbs and beat Palestinians who were not directly involved in disturbances or resisting arrest...At least thirteen Palestinians have been reported to have died from beatings...

1989: Human rights groups charged that the plainclothes security personnel acted as death squads who killed Palestinian activists without warning, after they had surrendered, or after they had been subdued...

1991: [The report] added that the human rights groups had published 'detailed credible reports of torture, abuse and mistreatment of Palestinian detainees in prisons and detention centers.'

Former Congressman Paul Findley, Deliberate Deceptions

Jerusalem – Eternal, Indivisible Capital of Israel?

Writing in *The Jerusalem Report* (Feb. 28, 2000), Leslie Susser points out that the current boundaries were drawn after the Six-Day War. Responsibility for drawing those lines fell to Central Command Chief Rehavan Ze'evi. The line he drew 'took in not only the five square kilometres of Arab East Jerusalem – but also 65 square kilometres of surrounding open country and villages, most of which never had any municipal link to Jerusalem. Overnight they became part of Israel's eternal and indivisible capital.'

Allan Brownfield in *The Washington Report On Middle East Affairs*, May 2000

History of Terrorism in the Region

Editor's Note: We believe that the killing of innocent people is wrong, in all cases. Thus, we cannot condone the use of terrorism by some extreme Palestinian groups, especially prevalent during the 1970s. That being said, however, it is necessary to examine the context in which such incidents occurred.

We hear lots about Palestinian terrorism. How about the Israeli record?

The record of Israeli terrorism goes back to the origins of the state – indeed, long before – including the massacre of 250 civilians and brutal expulsion of 70,000 others from Lydda and Ramleh in July 1948; the massacre of hundreds of others at the undefended village of Doueimah near Hebron in October 1948;... the slaughters in Quibya, Kafr Kassem, and a string of other assassinated villages; the expulsion of thousands of Bedouins from the demilitarized zones shortly after the 1948 war and thousands more from northeastern Sinai in the early 1970s, their villages destroyed, to open the region for Jewish settlement; and on, and on.

Noam Chomsky, Blaming The Victims, ed. Said and Hitchens

However much one laments and even wishes somehow to atone for the loss of life and suffering visited upon innocents because of Palestinian violence, there is still the need, I think, also to say that no national movement has been so unfairly penalized, defamed, and subjected to disproportionate retaliation for its sins as has the Palestinian.

The Israeli policy of punitive counterattacks (or state terrorism) seems to be to try to kill anywhere from 50 to 100 Arabs for every Jewish fatality. The devastation of Lebanese refugee camps, hospitals, schools, mosques, churches, and orphanages; the summary arrests; deportations, house destructions, maimings, and torture of Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza... these, and the number of Palestinian fatalities, the scale of material loss, the physical, political and psychological deprivations, have tremendously exceeded the damage done by Palestinians to Israelis.

Edward Said, The Question of Palestine

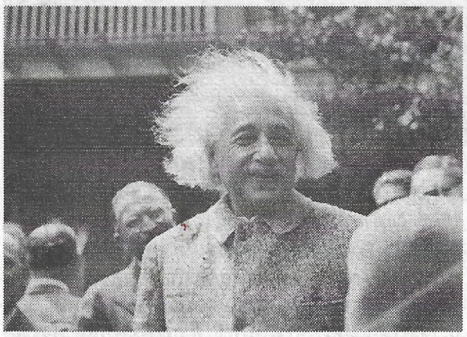
The US Government and media bias on terrorism in the Middle East

It is simply extraordinary and without

precedent that Israel's history, its record – from the fact that it...is a state built on conquest, that it has invaded surrounding countries, bombed and destroyed at will, to the fact that it currently occupies Lebanese, Syrian, and Palestinian territory against international law – is simply never cited, never subjected to scrutiny in the US media or in official discourse...never addressed as playing any role at all in provoking 'Islamic terror.'

Edward Said in *The Progressive*, May 30, 1996

Jewish Criticism of Zionism



▲ *Albert Einstein in 1945. See his letter p. 46*

Albert Einstein – I should much rather see reasonable agreement with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of a Jewish State. Apart from practical considerations, my awareness of the essential nature of Judaism resists the idea of a Jewish State, with borders, an army, and a measure of temporal power, no matter how modest. I am afraid of the inner damage Judaism will sustain...

Professor Erich Fromm, a noted Jewish writer and thinker, [stated]... In general international law, the principle holds true that no citizen loses his property or his rights of citizenship; and the citizenship right is *de facto* a right to which the Arabs in Israel have much more legitimacy than the Jews. Just because the Arabs fled? Since when is that punishable by confiscation of property, and by being barred from returning to the land on which a people's forefathers have lived for generations? Thus, the claim of the Jews to the land of Israel cannot be a realistic claim. If all nations would suddenly claim territory in which their forefathers had lived two thousand years ago, this world would be a madhouse... I believe that, politically speaking, there is only one solution for Israel, namely, the unilateral acknowledgement of the obligation of the State towards the Arabs – not to use it as a bargaining point, but to acknowledge the complete moral obligation of the Israeli State to its former inhabitants of Palestine...

Martin Buber – Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred...It is bound to bring complete ruin upon us. Only then will the old and young in our land realize how great was our responsibility to those miserable Arab refugees in whose towns we have settled Jews who were brought here from afar; whose homes we have inherited, whose fields we now sow and harvest; the fruits of whose gardens, orchards and vineyards we gather; and in whose cities that we robbed we put up houses of education, charity, and prayer, while we babble and rave about being the "People of the Book" and the "light of the nations"...

In an article published in *The Washington Post* of 3 October 1978, **Rabbi Hirsch** (of Jerusalem) is reported to have declared: 'The 12th principle of our faith, I believe, is that the Messiah will gather the Jewish exiled who are dispersed throughout the nations of the world. Zionism is diametrically opposed to Judaism. Zionism wishes to define the Jewish people as a nationalistic entity. The Zionists say, in effect, 'Look here, God. We do not like exile. Take us back, and if you don't, we'll just roll up our sleeves and take ourselves back.' 'The Rabbi continues: 'This, of course, is heresy. The Jewish people are charged by Divine oath not to force themselves back to the Holy Land against the wishes of those residing there.'

Sami Hadawi, Bitter Harvest

A Jewish Home in Palestine built up on bayonets and oppression [is] not worth having, even though it succeed, whereas the very attempt to build it up peacefully, cooperatively, with understanding, education, and good will, [is] worth a great deal even though the attempt should fail.

Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, first president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, quoted in Like All The Nations?, ed. Brinner & Rischin

Israel's new historians now refute myths of the founding of the state

Since the 1980s[1] ISRAELI scholars [have] concurred with their Palestinian counterparts that Zionism was...carried out as a pure colonialist act against the local population: a mixture of exploitation and expropriation...

They were motivated to present a revisionist point of view to a large extent by the declassification of relevant archival material in Israel, Britain and the United States. [For example]...

Challenging the Myth of Annihilation

The new historiographical picture is a fundamental challenge to the official history that says the Jewish community faced possible annihilation on the eve of the 1948 war. Archival documents expose a fragmented Arab world wrought by dismay and confusion and a Palestinian community that possessed no military ability with which to frighten the Jews...

Israel's responsibility for Refugees

The Jewish military advantage was translated into an act of mass expulsion of more than half of the Palestinian population. The Israeli forces, apart from rare exceptions, expelled the Palestinians from every village and town they occupied. In some cases, this expulsion was accompanied by massacres [of civilians] as was the case in Lydda, Ramleh, Dawimiyya, Sa'sa, Ein Zietun and other places. Expulsion also was accompanied by rape, looting and confiscation [of Palestinian land and property]...

The Myth of Arab Intransigence

[The UN] convened a peace conference in Lausanne, Switzerland in the spring of 1949. Before the conference, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution that in effect replaced the November 1947 partition resolution. This new resolution, Resolution 194 of December 11, 1948, accepted [UN Mediator] Bernadotte's triangular basis for a comprehensive peace: an unconditional return of all the refugees to their homes, the internationalization of Jerusalem, and the partitioning of Palestine into two states. This time, several Arab states and various representatives of the Palestinians accepted this as a basis for negotiations, as did the United States, which was running the show at Lausanne...Prime Minister David Ben Gurion strongly opposed any peace negotiations along these lines...The only reason he was willing to allow Israel to participate in the peace conference was his fear of an angry American reaction...The road to peace was not taken due to Israeli, not Arab, intransigence.

Conclusions

The new Israeli historians... wish to rectify what their research reveals as past evils... There was a high price exacted in creating a Jewish state in Palestine. And there were victims, the plight of whom still fuels the fire of conflict in Palestine.

Israeli historian Ilan Pappé in *The Link*, January, 1998

It is no longer my country...

For me, this business called the state of Israel is finished...I can't bear to see it any more, the injustice that is done to the Arabs, to the Bedouins. All kinds of scum coming from America and as soon as they get off the plane taking over lands in the territories and claiming it for their own... I can't do anything to change it. I can only go away and let the whole lot go to hell without me.

Israeli actress (and household name) Rivka Mitchell, quoted in Israeli peace movement periodical, *The Other Israel*, August 1998

Effect of Zionism on American Jews

The corruption of Judaism, as a religion of universal values, through its politicization by Zionism and by the replacement of dedication to Israel for dedication to God and the moral law, is what has alienated so many young Americans who, searching for spiritual meaning in life, have found little in the organized Jewish community.

Allan Brownfield, *Issues of the American Council for Judaism*, Spring 1997

Zionism and the Holocaust

The UN decisions to partition Palestine and then to grant admission to the state of Israel were made, on one level, as an emotional response to the horrors of the Holocaust. Under more normal circumstances, the compelling claims to sovereignty of the Arab majority would have prevailed. This reaction of guilt on the part of the Western allies was understandable, but that doesn't mean the Palestinians should have to pay for crimes committed by others – a classic example of two wrongs not making a right.

The Holocaust is often used as the final argument in favour of Zionism, but is this connection justified? There are several aspects to consider in answering that question honestly. First, we will examine the historical record of what the Zionist movement actually did to help save European Jewry from the Nazis.

Shamir proposes a pact with Nazis

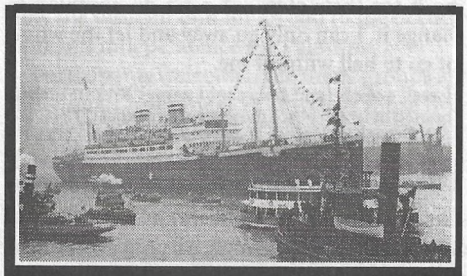
As late as 1941, the Zionist group Lehi, one of whose leaders, Yitzhak Shamir, was later to become a prime minister of Israel, approached the Nazis, using the name of its parent organization, the Irgun (National Military Organization – NMO)... [The proposal stated:] 'The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian Pd bound by a treaty with the German Reich would be in the interests of strengthening the future German nation of power in the Near East...The NMO in Palestine offers to take an active part in the war on Germany's side'...The Nazis rejected this proposal for an alliance because, it is reported, they considered Lehi's military power 'negligible.'

Allan Brownfield in *The Washington Report on Middle Eastern Affairs*, July/August 1998

Wasn't the main goal of Zionism to save Jews from the Holocaust?

In 1938 a thirty-one nation conference was held in Evian, France, on resettlement of the victims of Nazism. The World Zionist Organization refused to participate, fearing that resettlement of Jews in other states would reduce the number available for Palestine.

John Quigley, Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice



▲ The *St. Louis*, carrying 907 German-Jewish refugees, is turned back by the Canadian and US governments, 7 June 1939. Most of its passengers gain temporary sanctuary in Western Europe until the Nazi takeover of 1940, when they became victims of the Holocaust.

It was summed up in the meeting [of the Jewish Agency's Executive on June 26, 1938] that the Zionist thing to do 'is belittle the [Evian] Conference as far as possible and to cause it to decide nothing... We are particularly worried that it would move Jewish organizations to collect large sums of money for aid to Jewish refugees, and these collections could interfere with our collection efforts'...Ben-Gurion's statement at the same meeting: 'No rationalization can turn the conference from a harmful to a useful one. What can and should be done is to limit the damage as far as possible.'

Israeli author Boas Evron, Jewish State or Israeli Nation?

[Ben-Gurion stated] 'If I knew that it was possible to save all the children of Germany by transporting them to England, but only half of them by transporting them to Palestine, I would choose the second – because we face not only the reckoning of those children, but the historical reckoning of the Jewish people.' In the wake of the *Kristallnacht* pogroms, Ben-Gurion commented that 'the human conscience' might bring various countries to open their doors to Jewish refugees from Germany. He saw this as a threat and warned: 'Zionism is in danger'.

Israeli historian, Tom Segev, The Seventh Million

Even David Ben-Gurion's sympathetic biographer acknowledges that Ben-Gurion did nothing practical for rescue, devoting his energies to post-war prospects. He delegated rescue work to Yitzak Gruenbaum, who [stated]... 'They will say that I am anti-Semitic, that I don't want to save the Exile, that I don't have a varm Yiddish *hartz*... Let them say what they want. I will not demand that the Jewish Agency allocate a sum of 300,000 or 100,000 pounds sterling to help European Jewry. And I think that whoever demands such things is performing an anti-Zionist act.'

Zionists in America...took the same position. At a May 1943 meeting of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, Nahum Goldmann argued, 'If a drive is opened against the White Paper (the British policy of restricting Jewish immigrants to Palestine) the mass meetings of protest against the murder of European Jewry will have to be dropped. We do not have sufficient manpower for both campaigns.'

Peter Novick, The Holocaust in American Life

The Zionist movement...interfered with and hindered other organizations, Jewish and non-Jewish, whenever it imagined that their activity, political or humanitarian, was at variance with Zionist aims or in competition with them, even when these might be helpful to Jews, even when it was a question of life and death...Beit Zvi documents the Zionist leadership's indifference to saving Jews from the Nazi menace except in cases in which the Jews could be brought to Palestine... [e.g.] the readiness of the dictator of the Dominican Republic, Rafael Trujillo, to absorb 100,000 refugees and the sabotaging of this idea – as well as others, like proposals to settle the Jews in Alaska and the Philippines – by the Zionist movement...

▲ *Unlike Zionists, many Jews joined the anti-fascist struggle and actively fought as partisans*

The obtuseness of the Zionist movement toward the fate of European Jewry did not prevent it, of course, from later hurling accusations against the whole world for its indifference toward the Jewish catastrophe or from pressing material, political, and moral demands on the world because of that indifference.

Israeli author Boas Evron, Jewish State or Israeli Nation?

I have already gone exhaustively into the reason for our being here, reasons that I as a pioneer of 1906 can affirm have nothing to do with the Nazis!...We are here because the land is ours. And we are here because we have again made it ours in this time with the work we have put into it. Nazism and our history of martyrdom abroad do not concern our presence in Israel directly.

David Ben-Gurion, Memoirs

In hindsight, it is easy to say that the millions of Jews who were murdered in the Holocaust could have been saved if Palestine had been available for unlimited immigration. The history of this period is not so simple, however. First, keep in mind that other realistic resettlement plans were proposed but actively opposed by the Zionist movement. Second, the great majority of Jews in Europe were not Zionists and did not try to emigrate to Palestine before 1939. Third, after the start of the war, as the Nazis occupied various countries, they refused to let the Jews leave, making emigration virtually impossible. And Palestine, as we have shown, was already occupied; the indigenous Arabs had more valid reasons than any other country for wanting to limit Jewish immigration. Read on:

Emigration to Palestine before WW II

In 1936, the Social Democratic Bund won a sweeping victory in Jewish *kehilla* elections in Poland... Its main hallmarks included 'an unyielding hostility to Zionism' and to the Zionist enterprise of Jewish emigration from Poland to Palestine. **The Bund wished Polish Jews to fight anti-semitism in Poland by remaining there...The Zionist goal was also opposed, as a matter of principle, by all the major parties and movements among pre-1939 Polish Jewry...**" Elsewhere in eastern Europe...Zionist strength was weaker still.

Prof. William Rubinstein, The Myth of Rescue

In fact, Zionism suffered its own defeat in the Holocaust; as a movement, it failed. It had not, after all, persuaded the majority of Jews to leave

Europe for Palestine while it was still possible to do so.

Israeli historian, Tom Segev, The Seventh Million

[With the start of the war, Nazi] edicts forbidding emigration followed in all countries under direct Nazi control: after 1940-1 it was in effect impossible for Jews legally to emigrate from Nazi-occupied Europe to places of safety...The doors...were firmly shut: by the Nazis, it must be emphasized.

Prof William D. Rubinstein, The Myth of Rescue

Palestine was not necessarily a safe haven either

In September 1940, the Italians, at war with Britain, bombed downtown Tel Aviv, with over a hundred casualties...As the German Army overran Europe and North Africa, it appeared possible that it would conquer Palestine as well. In the summer of 1940, in the spring of 1941, and again in the fall of 1942 the danger seemed imminent. The *yishuv* panicked...Many people tried to find a way out of the country, but it was not easy...Some...were taking no chances; they carried cyanide capsules.

Israeli historian, Tom Segev, The Seventh Million

In any case, Palestine was not Britain's to give away; it was already occupied

We came to this country which was already populated by Arabs, and we are establishing a Hebrew, that is a Jewish, state here...Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages... There is not a single community in the country that did not have a former Arab population.

Israeli leader, Moshe Dayan, quoted in Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi's Original Sins

One can imagine an argument for the right of a persecuted minority to find refuge in another country able to accommodate it; one is hard-pressed, however, to imagine an argument for the right of a peaceful minority to politically and perhaps physically displace the indigenous population of another country. Yet...the latter was the actual intention of the Zionist movement.

Norman Finkelstein, Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

The use of the Holocaust for political gain

[In 1947] the UN appointed a special body, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), to make the decision over Palestine and UNSCOP members were asked to visit the camps of Holocaust survivors. Many of these survivors wanted to emigrate to the United States, a wish that undermined the Zionist claims that the fate of European Jewry was connected to that of the Jewish community in Palestine. When UNSCOP representatives arrived at the camps, they were unaware that backstage manipulations were limiting their contacts solely to survivors who wished to emigrate to Palestine.

Israeli historian Ilan Pappé, *The Link*, January-March 1998

Inside the DP camps, emissaries from the *Yishuv* organized survivor activity – crucially, the testimony the DPs gave to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and the UN Special Committee on Palestine about where they wished to go... The Jewish Agency envoys reported home that they had been successful in preventing the appearance of 'undesirable' witnesses at the hearings. One wrote his girlfriend in Palestine that 'we have to change our style and handwriting constantly so that they will think that the questionnaires were filled in by the refugees.'

Peter Novick, The Holocaust in American Life

Roosevelt's advisor writes on why Jewish refugees were not offered sanctuary in the US after WWII

What if Canada, Australia, South America, England and the United States were all to open a door to some migration? Even today [written in 1947] it is my judgement, and I have been in Germany since the war, that only a minority of the Jewish DP's [displaced persons] would choose Palestine...

[Roosevelt] proposed a world budget for the easy migration of the 500,000 beaten people of Europe. Each nation should open its doors for some thousands of refugees...So he suggested that during my trips for him to England during the war I sound out in a general, unofficial manner the leaders of British public opinion, in and out of the government...The simple answer: Great Britain will match the United States, man for man, in admissions from Europe...It seemed all settled. With the rest of the world probably ready to give haven to 200,000, there was a sound reason for the President to press Congress to take in at least 150,000 immigrants after the war...

It would free us from the hypocrisy of closing our own doors while making sanctimonious demands on the Arabs...But it did not work out...The failure of the leading Jewish organizations to support with zeal this immigration programme may have caused the President not to push forward with it at that time...

I talked to many people active in Jewish organizations. I suggested the plan...I was amazed and even felt insulted when active Jewish leaders decried, sneered, and then attacked me as if I were a traitor...I think I know the reason for much of the opposition. There is a deep, genuine, often fanatical emotional vested interest in putting over the Palestinian movement [Zionism]. Men like Ben Hecht are little concerned about human blood if it is not their own.

Jewish attorney and friend of President Roosevelt, Morris Ernst, So Far, So Good

Victimology

Jewish proponents of the 'victim' card are aware not only of its social effectiveness but of its usefulness as a means of insuring Jewish solidarity and, hence, survival. If we were forever hated by all and are doomed to be forever hated by all, then we'd best stick together and make the best of it...Personally, I have never found this view of the eternally-hating gentile to have any resemblance with reality. It seems a myth, pure and simple, and an ugly one at that.

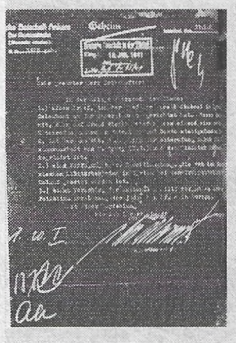
Is it a good means of social control? Perhaps, but at what cost? It strips the faith and history of Jew and gentile alike of all but their months of antagonism. It wallows in evil imagery and postulates a forever morally superior Jew, victimized by the forever morally inferior *goy*...I have spent most of my adult life among Hasidic Jews, almost all of whom were Holocaust survivors, and I've heard almost nothing of the of the relentless harping on victimology and our need to forever memorialize it ...(Victimology) allows Jews to bypass their own faith and offers the national allegiance of Holocaust/Israel in its place.

Rabbi Mayer Schiller, quoted in *Issues of the American Council for Judaism*, Summer 1998

▲ *Vladimir Jabotinsky in fascist uniform. A follower of Mussolini, a colloborator with the Ukrainian pogromist Simon Petlura, he founded the Irgun terrorist gang in Israel, later headed by Menachem Begin.*

During WWII, his heirs attempted their own alliance with the Nazis against the British then occupying Palestine. In October, 1939 the LEHI (Lohamei Herut Yisrael, or Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, also known as the "Stern Gang" after Avraham Stern broke with Irgun) sought to effect a plan with the Nazi Abwehr for mass "transfer" of Palestinians. Stern's approaches to the Axis powers included discussions with an emissary from Il Duce in Jerusalem (Sept 1940).

The alliance of the Labour Zionists (Ben-Gurion, Weizmann) with the Nazis was more covert than Irgun or Stern. In 1933 a world boycott of German goods spontaneously emerged. Had this boycott been supported by all Jews, Zionists and non-Zionists, some believe that the German economy would have cracked. 'Transfer' (*Ha'avara*) agreements negotiated with the Nazis by the Labour Zionists led to many trade agreements which resulted in the failure of the world boycott against the Nazis. (Paraphrased from The Wrath of Jonah by Rosemary and Herman Ruether, 1989). This information can also be found in Brenner's Zionism in the Age of the Dictators, 1983.



◀ *First page of Stern's offer of alliance with Nazi Germany, January 1941, headed "Geheim" (Secret)*

General Considerations

Israel has sought peace with its Arab neighbour states but has steadfastly refused to negotiate with Palestinians directly, until the last few years. Why?

My friend, take care. When you recognize the concept of 'Palestine', you demolish your right to live in Ein Hahoresh. If this is Palestine and not the Land of Israel, then you are conquerors and not tillers of the land. You are invaders. If this is Palestine, then it belongs to a people who have lived here before you came. Only if it is the Land of Israel do you have a right to live in Ein Hahoresh and in Deganiyah B. If it is not your country, your fatherland, the country of your ancestors and of your sons, then what are you doing here? You came to another people's homeland, as they claim, you expelled them and you have taken their land.

Menachem Begin, quoted in Noam Chomsky's Peace in the Middle East?

More from the horse's mouth

Why should the Arabs make peace? If I was an Arab leader, I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: we have taken their country. Sure, God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them? Our God is not theirs, We come from Israel, it's true, but two thousand years ago, and what is that to them? There has been anti-Semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They only see one thing: we came here and stole their country. Why should they accept that?

David Ben-Gurion, quoted in The Jewish Paradox by Nathan Goldman, former president of the World Jewish Congress

Before [the Palestinians] very eyes we are possessing the land and the villages where they, and their ancestors, have lived...We are the generation of colonizers, and without the steel helmet and the gun barrel we cannot plant a tree and build a home.

Israeli leader Moshe Dayan, quoted in Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel

'The Arabs will be our problem for a long time,' Weizmann said, 'It's not going to be simple. One day they may have to leave and let us have the country. They're ten to one, but don't we Jews have ten times their intelligence?'

Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann in 1919 at the Paris peace conference, quoted in Ella Winter, And Not To Yield

The international consensus on Israel (a very small representative sampling)

[In the early 1950s] Arab states regularly complained of the reprisals to the UN Security Council, which routinely rejected Israel's claims of self-defense...

In June 1982 Israel again invaded Lebanon, and it used aerial bombardment to destroy entire camps of Palestinian Arab refugees, By these means Israel killed 20,000 persons, mostly civilians... Israel claimed self-defense for its invasion, but the lack of PLO attacks into Israel during the previous year made that claim dubious... The [UN] Security Council demanded 'that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon'...

The UN Human Rights Commission, using the Geneva Convention's provision that certain violations of humanitarian law are 'grave breaches' meriting criminal punishment for perpetrators, found a number of Israel's practices during the uprising [the intifada] to constitute 'war crimes.' It included physical and psychological torture of Palestinian detainees and their subjection to improper and inhuman treatment; the imposition of collective punishment on towns, villages and camps; the administrative detention of thousands of Palestinians; the expulsion of Palestinian citizens; the confiscation of Palestinian property; and the raiding and demolition of Palestinian houses.

John Quigley, Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice

Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were subjected to inhuman treatment in Israeli prisons, from the 1970s until the 1999 Israeli High Court decision forbidding torture during interrogation (theoretically).

Israel's two main interrogation agencies in the occupied territories engage in a systematic pattern of ill-treatment and torture – according to internationally recognized definitions of the terms...The methods used in nearly all interrogations are prolonged sleep deprivation; prolonged sight deprivation using blindfolds or tight-fitting hoods; forced, prolonged maintenance of body positions that grow increasingly painful; and verbal threats and insults.

These methods are almost always combined with some of the following abuses; confinement in tiny, closet-like spaces; exposure to temperature extremes, such as deliberately over-cooled rooms, prolonged toilet and hygiene deprivation; and degrading treatment...Beatings are far more routine in IDF interrogations than in GSS interrogations. Sixteen of the nineteen detainees we interviewed [detained between 1992 and 1994] reported having been assaulted in the interrogation room. Beatings and kicks were directed at the throat, testicles, and stomach. Some were repeatedly choked; some had their heads slammed against the walls...

Israeli interrogations consistently use methods in combination with one another, over long periods of time. Thus, a detainee in the custody of the General Security Service (GSS) may spend weeks during which, except for brief respites, he shuttles from a tiny chair to which he is painfully shackled; to a stifling, tiny cubicle in which he can barely move; to questioning sessions in which he is beaten or violently manhandled; and then back to the chair.

The intensive, sustained and combined use of these methods inflicts the severe mental or physical suffering that is central to internationally accepted definitions of torture. Israel's political leadership cannot claim ignorance that ill-treatment is the norm in interrogation centers. The number of victims is too large, and the abuses too systematic.

1994 Human Rights Watch report, Torture and Ill-Treatment: Israel's Interrogation of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories

Amnesty International also observed that, when brought to trial, most Palestinian detainees arrested for 'terrorist' offenses and tortured by the Shin Bet (General Security Services) 'have been accused of offenses such as membership in unlawful associations or throwing stones. They have also included prisoners of conscience such as people arrested solely for raising a flag.' On a related point, *Ha'aretz* columnist B. Michael noted that there wasn't a single recorded case in which the Shin Bet's use of torture was prompted by a 'ticking bomb' scenario: 'In every instance of a Palestinian lodging formal complaint about torture, the Shin Bet justified its use in order to extract a confession about something that had already happened, not about

▲ **The profound indignation against Israeli barbarism and support for the Palestinian resistance is universal. In Up-Country Sri Lanka – 7,000' above sea level – it has touched people, as shown by these two works by the esteemed Tamil painters, Shiva and Saba. *Nandala* magazine (10/01), Hatton.**

something that was about to happen.'

Norman Finkelstein, The Rise and Fall of Palestine

The 1997 UN Commission Against Torture rules against Israel

B'Tselem estimates – that the GSS annually interrogates between 1,000-1,500 Palestinians [as of 1998]. Some 85% of them – at least 850 persons a year – are tortured during interrogation…

The UN Committee Against Torture … reached an unequivocal conclusion:…'The methods of interrogation [used in Israeli prisons]… are in the Committee's view breaches of article 16 and also constitute torture as defined in article 1 of the Convention…As a State Party to the Convention Against Torture, Israel is precluded from raising before this Committee exceptional circumstances'…The prohibition on torture is, therefore, absolute, and no 'exceptional' circumstances may justify derogating from it.

Routine Torture: Interrogation Methods of the General Security Service 1998, Report from B'Teslem, The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories

Some arguments to justify Zionism

There is clearly no need to justify the Zionist dream, the desire for relief from Jewish suffering…The trouble with Zionism starts when it lands, so to speak, in Palestine. What has to be justified is the injustice to the Palestinians caused by Zionism, the dispossession and victimization of a whole people. There is clearly a wrong here, a wrong which creates the need for justification…

[E.g., the inheritance claim] The aim of Zionism is the restoration of a Jewish sovereignty to its status 2,000 years ago. Zionism does not advocate an overhauling of the total world situation in the same way. It does not advocate the restoration of the Roman empire…[In addition,] Palestinians have claimed descent from the ancient inhabitants of Palestine 3,000 years ago!…

[Jewish suffering as justification] It was easy to make the Palestinians pay for 2,000 years of persecution. The Palestinians, who have felt the enormous power of this vengeance, were not the historical oppressors of the Jews.

They did not put Jews into ghettos and force them to wear yellow stars. They did not plan holocausts. But they had one fault. They were weak and defenseless in the face of real military might, so they were the ideal victims for an abstract revenge…

[Anti-semitism as justification] Unlike the situation of Jews persecuted for being Jews, Israelis are at war with the Arab world because they have committed the sin of colonialism, not because of their Jewish identity…

[The law of the jungle justification.] Presenting the world as naturally unjust, and oppression as nature's way, has always been the first refuge of those who want to preserve their privileges…The need to justify Zionism, and the lack of other defenses, has made it part of the Israeli world view…In Israel, one common outcome is cynicism, for which Israelis have become famous…

[The effect on Israelis] Israelis seem to be haunted by a curse. It is the curse of the original sin against the native Arabs. How can Israel be discussed without recalling the dispossession and exclusion of non-Jews? This is the most basic fact about Israel, and no understanding of Israeli reality is possible without it. The original sin haunts and torments Israelis; it marks everything and taints everybody. Its memory poisons the blood and marks every moment of existence.

Israeli author, Benjamin Beit-Hallahami, Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel

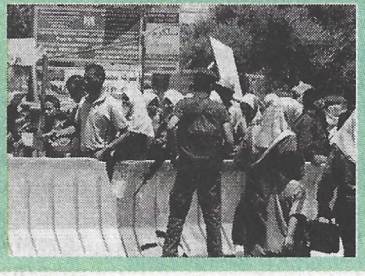
Zionism's 'historical right' to Palestine

Zionism's 'historical right' to Palestine was neither historical nor a right. It was not historical inasmuch as it voided the two millennia of non-Jewish settlement in Palestine and the two millennia of Jewish settlement outside it. It was not a right, except in the Romantic 'mysticism' of 'blood and soil' and the Romantic 'cult' of 'death, heroes and graves'…

Monday 5 August 2002

A day in the life of a checkpoint

At a military checkpoint near Jerusalem, one out of hundreds separating Palestinian towns and villages, many Palestinians were aware of the humiliation awaiting them. Yet they needed to reach work, schools, hospitals or simply return home. They had no other choice but to wait. Photojournalist Mahfouz Abu Turk of The Palestine Chonicle ***narrates the story of the checkpoint in pictures.*** ***(See map p. 17)***



The claim of Jewish 'homelessness' is founded on a cluster of assumptions that both negates the liberal idea of citizenship and duplicates the anti-Semitic one that the state belongs to the majority ethnic nation. In a word, the Zionist case for a Jewish state is as valid as the anti-Semitic case for an ethnic state that marginalizes Jews.

Professor Norman Finkelstein, Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

How about the Zionist argument that Jordan is the Palestinian state?

It is often alleged that there was, in fact, an earlier 'territorial compromise', namely in 1922, when Transjordan was excised from the promised 'national home for the Jewish people,'... a decision that is difficult to criticize in light of the fact that 'the number of Jews living there permanently in 1921 has reliably been estimated at two, or according to some authorities, three persons.'

Noam Chomsky, The Fateful Triangle

Why does Israel, "the only democracy in the Middle East," have no constitution?

The abstention from formulating a constitution was no accident. The massive expropriation of lands and other properties from those Arabs who fled the country as a result of the War of Independence and of those who remained but were declared absent, as well as the confiscation of large tracts of land from Arab villages who did not flee, and the laws passed to legalize those acts – all this would have necessarily been declared unconstitutional, null and void, by the Supreme Court, being expressly discriminatory against one part of the citizenry, whereas a democratic constitution obliges the state to treat all of its citizens equally.

Israeli author, Boas Evron, Jewish State or Israeli Nation?

The 1989 Israel High Court decision that any political party advocating full equality between Arab and Jew can be barred from fielding candidates in an election... [means] that the Israeli state is the state of the Jews... not their [the Arabs'] state.

Norman Finkelstein, Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

Fundamentalism in Israel

The fundamentalist wing of the Jewish religion, while certainly not representative of Judaism as a whole, is influential in Israel, and is the ideological basis of the settler movement in the West Bank and Gaza (except for "Greater Jerusalem" where many secular Jews have moved because of cheap, subsidized housing). The following quotes show the racism inherent in this world-view and why its influence should be opposed by all rational people.

Mount of Olives, East Jerusalem. Even Palestinian holy places are subject to official discrimination. A Greek Orthodox church, built on church property, was demolished by Israeli authorities for being built without a license.

Ideological basis of racism in Israel

The Talmud states that...two contrary types of souls exist, a non-Jewish soul comes from the Satanic spheres, while the Jewish soul stems from holiness...Rabbi Kook, the Elder, the revered father of the messianic tendency of Jewish fundamentalism said, "The difference between a Jewish soul and the souls of non-Jews... is greater and deeper than the difference between a human soul and the souls of cattle.'

Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky's Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel

Gush Emunim rabbis have continually reiterated that Jews who killed Arabs should not be punished, [e.g.]... Relying on the Code of Maimonides and the Halacha, Rabbi Ariel stated, **'A Jew who killed a non-Jew is exempt from human judgement and has not violated the [religious] prohibition of murder'**...The significance here is most striking when the broad support, both direct and indirect, for Gush Emunim is considered. About one-half of Israel's Jewish population supports Gush Emunim.

Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky, Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel

Jewish fundamentalist rationale for seizing Arab land

They argue that what appears to be confiscation of Arab-owned land for subsequent settlement by Jews is in reality not an act of stealing but one of sanctification. From their perspective the land is being redeemed by being transferred from the satanic to the divine sphere...To further this process, the use of force is permitted whenever necessary...*Halacha* permits Jews to rob non-Jews in those locales wherein Jews are stronger than non-Jews.

Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky, Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel

Intifada 2000 and The "Peace Process"

The flaws of the Oslo Accords

The United States has been a terrible 'sponsor' of the peace process. It has succumbed to Israeli pressure on everything, abandoning the principle of land for peace (no UN Resolution says anything about returning a tiny percentage, as opposed to all of the land Israel seized in 1967), pushing the lifeless Palestinian leadership into deeper and deeper holes to suit Netanyahu's preposterous demands.

The fact is that Palestinians are dramatically worse off than they were before the Oslo process began. Their annual income is less than half of what it was in 1992; they are unable to travel from place to place; more of their land has been taken than ever before; more settlements exist; and Jerusalem is practically lost...

Every house demolishment, every expropriated dunum, every arrest and torture, every barricade, every closure, every gesture of arrogance and intended humiliation simply revives the past and re-enacts Israel's offenses against the Palestinian spirit, land, body politic. To speak about peace in such a context is to try to reconcile the irreconcilable.

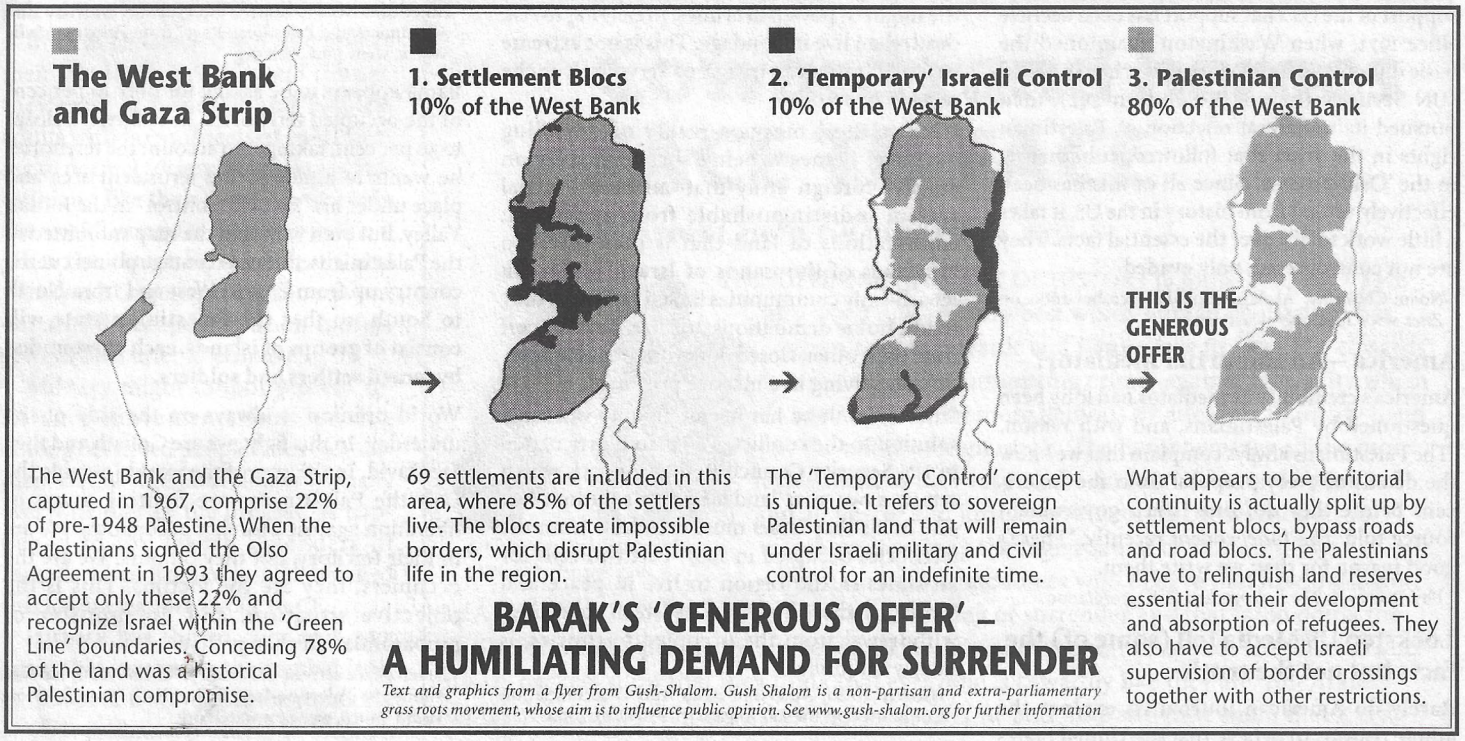
Edward Said in *The Progressive*, March 1998

The roots of Intifada 2000

The explosion of Palestinian anger last September 29 put an end to the charade begun at Oslo seven years ago and labelled the 'peace process.' In 1993 Palestinians, along with millions of people around the world, were led to hope that Israel would withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza within five years and that Palestinians would then be free to establish an independent state. Meanwhile both sides would work out details of Israel's withdrawal and come to an agreement on the status of Jerusalem, the future of Israeli settlements, and the return of Palestinian refugees.

Because of the lopsided balance of power, negotiations went nowhere and the Palestinians' hopes were never fulfilled. The Israelis, regardless of which government was in power, quibbled over wording, demanded revisions of what had previously been agreed to, then refused to abide by the new agreements. Meanwhile successive governments were demolishing Palestinian homes, taking over Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem for Jewish housing, and seizing Palestinian land for new settlements. A massive new highway network built after 1993 on confiscated Palestinian land isolates Palestinian towns and villages from one another and from Jerusalem, forcing many Palestinians to go through Israeli checkpoints just to get to the next town...

According to President Clinton and most of the media, Prime Minister Ehud Barak conceded at Camp David virtually everything the Palestinians wanted, and Yasser Arafat threw away the opportunity for peace by rejecting Barak's offer. In fact Arafat could not accept it. Barak, backed by Clinton, wanted assurance of Israel's continued strategic control over the West Bank and Gaza, including air space and borders, and insisted that Israel retain permanent sovereignty over most of East Jerusalem, including Haram Al-Sharif. This was a deal no Arab would accept. As the protests grew, army helicopters rocketed neighborhoods in several Palestinian cities, destroying entire city blocks and causing scores of casualties. Israeli tanks surrounded Palestinian towns with their guns turned toward the town. Armed Israeli civilians within the Green Line rampaged through Arab neighborhoods destroying Arab property and shouting "Death of Arabs'... Israeli police who were quick to use bullets against Palestinian stone



throwers failed to restrain the Israelis and instead fired at Arabs trying to defend their homes. Two Arabs were killed.

The uprising was undoubtedly fuelled by the resentment caused by years of daily abuse and humiliation under Israeli occupation. On September 6, a group of Israeli border police stopped three Palestinian workers as they were returning home from Israel and, for no reason at all, subjected them to 40 minutes of torture. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on September 19 that the policemen punched the three men, slammed their heads against a stone wall, forced them to swallow their own blood, and cursed their mothers and sisters. The incident only came to light because the policemen took photographs of themselves with their victims, holding their heads by the hair like hunting trophies. Israeli human rights workers said such beatings are a common occurrence, but they are seldom reported.

Rachelle Marshall, "The Peace Process Ends in Protests and Blood", *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, December 2000

"Israel has failed the test"

In the Oslo Agreements, Israel and the West put Palestinian leadership to a test: In exchange for an Israeli promise to gradually dismantle the mechanisms of the occupation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Palestinian leadership promised to stop every act of violence and terror immediately. For that purpose, all the apparatus for security coordination was created, more and more Palestinian jails were built, and demonstrators were barred from approaching the [Jewish] settlements.

The two sides agreed on a period of five years for completion of the new deployment and the negotiations on a final agreement. The Palestinian leadership agreed again and again to extend its trial period...From their perspective, Israel was also put to a test: Was Israel really giving up its attitude of superiority and domination, built up in order to keep the Palestinian people under its control?

More than seven years have gone by and Israel has security and administrative control of 61.2% of the West Bank and about 20% of the Gaza Strip and security control over another 26.8% of the West Bank. This control is what has enabled Israel to double the number of settlers in 10 years...and to seal an entire nation into restricted areas, imprisoned in a network of bypass roads meant for Jews only...

Israel has failed the test. Palestinians control of 12% of the West Bank does not mean that Israel has given up its attitude of superiority and domination...The bloodbath that has been going on for three weeks is the natural outcome of seven years of [Israeli] lying and deception.

Israeli journalist Amira Hass, "Israel Has Failed The Test," in Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, 10/18/00

Jimmy Carter's simple statement of the facts – November 2000

An underlying reason that years of US diplomacy have failed and violence in the Middle East persists is that some Israeli leaders continue to 'create facts' by building settlements in occupied territory...

At Camp David in September 1978... the bilateral provisions led to a comprehensive and lasting treaty between Egypt and Israel, made possible at the last minute by Israel's agreement to remove its settlers from the Sinai. But similar constraints concerning the status of the West Bank and Gaza have not been honored, and have led to continuing confrontation and violence...

[Concerning UN Resolution 242] Our government's legal commitment to support this well-balanced resolution has not changed...It was clear that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories were a direct violation of this agreement and were, according to the long-stated American position, both 'illegal and an obstacle to peace.' Accordingly, Prime Minister Begin pledged that there would be no establishment of new settlements until after the final peace negotiations were completed. But later, under Likud pressure, he declined to honour this commitment...

It is unlikely that real progress can be made... as long as Israel insists on its settlement policy, illegal under international laws that are supported by the US and all other nations.

There are many questions as we continue to seek an end to violence in the Middle East, but there is no way to escape the vital one: Land or peace?

President Carter in *The Washington Post*, 26/11/2000.

After three weeks of virtual war in the Israeli occupied territories, Prime Minister Ehud Barak announced a new plan to determine the final status of the region. During these weeks, over 100 Palestinians were killed, including 30 children, often by 'excessive use of lethal force in circumstances in which neither the lives of security forces nor others were in imminent danger, resulting in unlawful killings,' Amnesty International concluded in a detailed report that was scarcely mentioned in the US...

Barak's plan...ensure(s) that useable land and resources (primarily water) remain largely in Israeli hands while the population is administered by a corrupt and brutal Palestinian Authority (PA), playing the role traditionally assigned to indigenous collaborators under the several varieties of imperial rule: the Black leadership of South Africa's Bantustans, to mention only the most obvious analogue...

It is important to recall that the policies have not only been proposed, but implemented, with the

support of the US That support has been decisive since 1971, when Washington abandoned the basic diplomatic framework that it had initiated (UN Security Council Resolution 242), then pursued its unilateral rejection of Palestinian rights in the years that followed, culminating in the 'Oslo process.' Since all of this has been effectively vetoed from history in the US, it takes a little work to discover the essential facts. They are not controversial, only evaded.

Noam Chomsky, "Al-Aqsa Intifada", October 2000, on *Znet*, www.lbbs.org/meastwatch

America – An impartial mediator?

America's credibility as mediator had long been questioned by Palestinians, and with reason. 'The Palestinians always complain that we know the details of every proposal from the Americans before they do,' one Israeli government source told *The Independent* recently. 'There's good reason for that: we write them.'

Phil Reeves in *The Independent* (UK), 10/9/2000

Lockstep US Media tell (some of) the facts but not the truth

Rarely do American journalists explore the ample reasons to believe that the United States is part of the oft-decried cycle of violence. Nor, in the first half of October, was there much media analysis of the fact that the violence overwhelmingly struck at the Palestinian people.

Within a period of days, several dozen Palestinians were killed by heavily armed men in uniform – often described by CNN and other news outlets as 'Israeli security forces'. Under the circumstances, it's a notably benign-sounding term for an army that shoots down protestors.

As for the rock-throwing Palestinians, I have never seen or heard a single American news account describing them as 'pro democracy demonstrators.' Yet that would be an appropriate way to refer to people who – after more than three decades of living under occupation – are in the streets to demand self determination.

While Israeli soldiers and police, with their vastly superior firepower, do most of the killing... American news stories highlighted the specious ultimatums issued by Prime Minister Ehud Barak as he demanded that Palestinians end the violence – while uniformed Israelis under his authority continue to kill them...

Like quite a few other Jewish Americans, I'm appalled by what Israel is doing with US tax dollars. Meanwhile, as journalists go along to get along, they diminish the humanity of us all.

Norman Solomon, "Media Spin Remains In Sync With Israeli Occupation," *FAIR's Media Beat*, 14/10/ 2000

Intifada 2000 – An overview

There is, in the final analysis, only one way to 'stop the violence,' and that is to end the occupation. The desire for liberation will, eventually, always bring an occupied people out into the streets, stones in hand, ready to face the might of powerful armies, preferring to risk death than live in bondage. This is not extreme national, racism or religious fervour. It is the need to be free...

[Occupation] means a reality of unending violence. It means being surrounded by an abusive foreign army that enforces a social system indistinguishable from apartheid; confiscations of land that is then given to hundreds of thousands of Israeli settlers in Jewish-only communities linked by Jewish only roads; home demolitions; torture; cities cut off from each other, closed down on a regular basis. It means living in a massive prison...

Since 1967, there has been only one workable solution to the conflict. The plan is articulated in UN Security Council Resolution 242, which sets up a two-part 'land for peace' solution. Part one holds that Israel must withdraw from the territories occupied in 1967. Part two calls for all states in the region to live in peace and security in those borders. The Israeli obligation, withdrawal from the occupied territories, is utterly unfulfilled.

Hussein Ibish, American-Arab Anti Discrimination Committee, in the *Los Angeles Times*, 18/10/2000

Albright stands the facts on their heads

With the same deadpan, expressionless, emotionless, glazed look, Madam Albright repeated: 'Those Palestinian rock throwers have placed Israel under siege,' adding that the Israeli army is defending itself... [But] It is Israel that is the belligerent occupant of Palestine (and not the other way around) Israeli tanks and armored vehicles are surrounding Palestinian villages, camps and cities (and not the other way around). Israeli (American-made) Apache gunships are firing Lau and other missiles at Palestinian protestors and homes (and not the other way around). It is Israel that is confiscating Palestinian land and importing Jewish settlers to set up illegal armed settlements in the heart of Palestinian territory (and not the other way around). The settlers on the rampage in the West Bank and Israelis terrorizing Palestinians in their own homes (and not the other way around)... Israel is committing atrocities against the Palestinians with total impunity, and yet you maintain, 'Israel is besieged.'

Hanan Ashrawi, in *The Progressive*, December 2000

What Arafat was offered

In American coverage of the recent Camp David meetings, the American press obediently followed the Israeli and US government spin that while Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak made courageous concessions for peace, Palestinian unwillingness to compromise caused the meeting to fail.

Never mind that Barak's 'courageous concessions' consisted of allowing the Palestinians to have joint administrative responsibility over a couple of remote Arab neighbourhoods of Arab East Jerusalem – pathetic crumbs tossed on the floor which Arafat was expected to gratefully pick up.

American Jewish reporter, Eduardo Cohen, from "What Americans Need to Know – But Probably Won't Be Told – To understand Palestinian Rage" from *Palestine Media Watch*, www.pmwatch.org

Barak appears to be asking for only 10 per cent of the occupied territories. In reality, it's closer to 30 per cent, taking into account the territories he wants to annex in the Jerusalem area and place under his "security control" in the Jordan Valley. But even worse, in the map submitted to the Palestinians, these percentage points cut the country up from East to West and from North to South, so that **the Palestinian state will consist of groups of islands, each surrounded by Israeli settlers and soldiers.**

World opinion is always on the side of the underdog. In this fight, we are Goliath and they are David. In the eyes of the world [outside the US], the Palestinians are fighting a war of liberation against a foreign occupation. We are in their territory, not they on ours. We are the occupiers, they are the victims. This is the objective situation, and no minister of propaganda can change that."

Israeli peace activist Uri Avnery, "12 Conventional Lies About the Palestine-Israeli Conflict" from *Palestine Media Watch*, www.pmwatch.org

An Israeli's "Open Letter to a Friend in Peace Now"

It has been seven years exactly since I wrote my last letter to you. It was the day after the signing of the Oslo Accords, when you invited me to dance with you in Menorah Square... Permit me to quote for you a few passages from that old letter.

> You danced in the square because you were happy about this peace. Not just plain peace, but a blend of peace, security, Palestinian chest-beating over sins committed (renunciation of terrorism), and far-reaching concessions by the other side. A peace that you can be proud of. A peace – so you boast – for which we are giving nothing ("Just a tiny bit," whispers the prime minister) and gaining much; recognition, greater security, a halt to the Intifada, renunciation of terrorism, being relieved of the Arabs and more. You are happy about this peace, and in its honor you invite me to dance with you. No thank you... You got rid of Gaza, you separated Israelis from Palestinians, you gave them the dirty work and you didn't even promise withdrawal or a real state. Could peace possibly be bought more cheaply?
>
> I, by contrast, see peace as an end and not merely as a means, and call for getting out of the Occupied Territories because we have nothing to be there for, even if the occupation did not cost us even one victim or one cent; and I am against shooting children – and adults – simply because it is forbidden to shoot children or ordinary civilians.'

Since the writing of these lines you celebrated the peace and you became fat and prosperous. The repeated and varied violations of the

agreements did not move you, not to speak of any change in our culture of war and occupation, the arrogant tone of those negotiating in our name and their attempts to demand more and more in exchange for less and less...

What is there to be confused about? A conquering army is using tanks and helicopter gunships to disperse demonstrations. What is so hard to understand here?... There is an occupation and there is a struggle against the occupation. There are demonstrators and there is an army that has received orders to shed their blood. And don't come to me with the story of the rifles, Your glorious war record qualifies you to understand what even CNN reporters understand, that those rifles do not endanger either Israel or the soldiers if they don't get too close...

[From 1993 letter] peace is a tango that takes two equal partners dancing in unity; it is not a dance of one who drags around his partner at will... In your dance of peace you have no partners, only enemies. For your peace is his occupation, your success is his loss... Peace is still far away because peace demands honesty, because peace demands equality. You want to force them to lie, you want of them a peace of surrender, you are celebrating a peace of master and slave. Under such conditions there will perhaps be peace-and-quiet, but Peace, no. Not until you open your eyes and your heart. Not until we are ready for a peace of partnership and equality.

Michael (Mikado) Warschawski, "The Party Is Over: An Open Letter to a Friend In Peace Now", from *Znet*, www.lbbs.org/ZNETTOPnoanimation.html

"Barak promised peace and brought war, and not by accident"

(Barak) promised peace and brought war, and not by accident. While speaking about peace, he enlarged the settlements. Cut the Palestinian territories into pieces by 'by-pass' roads. Confiscated lands. Demolished homes. Uprooted trees. Paralysed the Palestinian economy... Conducted negotiations in which he tried to dictate to the Palestinians a peace that amounts to capitulation. Was not satisfied with the fact that by accepting the Green Line, the Palestinians had already given up 78% of their historic homeland. Demanded the annexation of 'settlement blocs' and pretended that they amount only to three per cent of the territory, while in fact he meant more than 20 per cent would remain under Israeli control. Wanted to coerce the Palestinians to accept a 'state' cut off from all its neighbors and composed of several enclaves isolated from each other, each surrounded by Israeli settlers and soldiers... Boasts publicly that he has not given back to the Palestinians one inch of territory... When the intifada broke out, sent snipers to shoot, in cold blood from a distance, hundreds of unarmed demonstrators, adults and children. Blockaded each village and town separately, bringing them to the verge of starvation, in order to get them to surrender. Bombarded neighborhoods. Started a policy of mafia-style 'liquidations', causing an inevitable escalation of the violence.

Israeli peace activist, Uri Avnery, February 3, 2001, www.gush-shalom.org

A 'benign' occupation?

Israelis like to believe, and tell the world, that they are running an 'enlightened' or 'benign' occupation, qualitatively different from other military occupations the world has seen. The truth was radically different. Like all occupations, Israel's was founded on brute force, repression and fear, collaboration and treachery, beatings and torture chambers, and daily intimidation, humiliation and manipulation.

Israeli historian, Benny Morris, Righteous Victims

What "closure" means

Just an hour's drive from Jerusalem, a cruel drama has been underway for the past five months, the likes of which have not been seen since the early days of the Israeli occupation, but the majority of Israelis are taking absolutely no interest in it. The iron grip of the closure in its new format is increasingly strangling a population of 2.8 million people, yet no one is saying a word...

It has to be said starkly and simply: There has never been a closure like this there, in the land of barriers and closure. In the worst of times of the previous Intifada, when the IDF was in EVEÄR and curfew reigned supreme, there was not a situation in which a whole people was jailed without a trial and without the right of appeal.

Israel has split the West Bank by means of hundreds of trenches, dirt ramparts and concrete cubes which have been placed at the entrance to most of the towns and villages. No one enters and no one leaves, not those who are pregnant and not those who are dying. There isn't even a soldier with whom one can plead and beg. A network of bizarre Burma roads that break through the encirclement are sending an entire people along muddy, rocky routes, with the situation aggravated by a substantial risk of getting caught or getting shot by soldiers who often open fire on the desperate travellers...

Never before has there been distress and suffering on this scale among the Palestinians in the territories. They will engender unprecendented despair and ultimately they will spark violence more cruel and painful than anything seen so far... This is the point: the horrific distress of the Palestinians because of the present closure will quickly turn into the distress of the Israelis... The current siege, a shamefully appalling operation, must be lifted quickly. This must not be made conditional on the cessation of the violence, because the siege itself is the most effective spur to violence.

Israeli writer, Gideon Levy, in *Ha'aretz*, 4/3/ 2001

Some Conclusions

As we have seen, the root cause of the Palestine-Israel conflict is clear. During the 1948 war, 750,000 Palestinians fled in terror or were actively expelled from their ancestral homeland and turned into refugees. The state of Israel then refused to allow them to return and either destroyed their villages entirely or expropriated their land, orchards, houses, businesses and personal possessions for the use of the Jewish population. This was the birth of the state of Israel.

We know it is hard to accept emotionally, but in this case the Jewish people are in the wrong. We took most of Palestine by force from the Arabs and blamed the victims for resisting their dispossession. If you run into someone's car, for whatever reason, simple justice demands that you repair it. Our moral obligation to the Palestinian people is no less clear. It is time for all Jewish people of good conscience to make whatever amends are possible to the Palestinians in order to live up to the best part of the Jewish tradition – its ethical and moral basis.

Any criticism of Israel is traditionally seen by American Jews as harmful to the Jewish people, even if the criticism is true. But "my people, right or wrong, my people" is no different than "my country, right or wrong, my country". Once we start down the slippery slope where the ends justify the means we have left behind any claim to morality. Along with millions of other American Jews unaffiliated with the major US Jewish organizations, we are outraged at the Israeli government's ongoing oppression of the Palestinians and feel that it has been the ruination of the high moral standing of the Jewish people.

The Israeli government could solve the Palestine/Israel crisis tomorrow. It actually would be in the best interests of its citizens to do so. Random acts of terrorism against Israelis would cease if Palestinian demands for a viable, independent state were accepted and compen-sation for Arab losses made. ....

At the very least, American Jews need to categorically state that we cannot condone Israel's illegal occupation of Palestinian land, and the intentional murder and crippling of Palestinian protestors armed only with rocks, as documented in reports by the UN Security Council, the UN Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Israeli groups like B'Tselem, etc.

According to a survey commissioned by the five largest American Jewish organizations, but suppressed by them afterwards, 20 per cent of American Jews support Palestinian demands and 35 per cent say that Jerusalem should be shared. This, in the face of a near-total blackout of the Palestinian position in our press, is very impressive. Join this growing segment of American Jews by contacting Not In My Name, at www.nimn.org, a group that is spearheading a coalition of Jewish groups to protest the Israeli occupation.

Please write for free copies of this booklet to Jews for Justice in The Middle East, P.O. Box 14561, Berkeley CA USA 94712, or download from the web at www.cactus48.com. Ask your Jewish friends to consider the information presented here. For everyone's sake. Peace. ■

Resources in Print & Online

Sources for further research on Palestine & Israel

Websites listed below were tested and validated as of 12 September 2002. Materials compiled in this *Dossier* barely touch the surface of the available evidence, which is overwhelming. Fuller documentation is in books cited within. Particularly useful are:

Beit-Hallahmi, Benjamin. *Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel* (Olive Branch Press, 1993)

Berger, Rabbi Elmer. *Peace for Palestine: First Lost Opportunity* (University Press of Florida, 1993)

Black, Edwin. *The Transfer Agreement: The Untold Story of the Secret Agreement Between the Third Reich and Jewish Palestine* (MacMillan Publishing Company, 1984)

Chomsky, Noam. *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel & the Palestinians* (South End Press Classics, 1999)

Findley, Paul. *Deliberate Deceptions: Facing the Facts about the US-Israeli Relationship* (Lawrence Hill Books, 1993)

Finkelstein, Norman. *The Rise & Fall of Palestine* (University of Minnesota Press, 1996)

—. *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict* (Verso, 1995)

Fisk, Robert. *Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War* (Oxford University Press)

Gilmour, David. *Dispossessed: The Ordeal of the Palestinians 1917-1980* (Sudgwick & Jackson, 1980)

Hadawi, Sami. *Bitter Harvest: A Modern History of Palestine* (Olive Branch Press, 1989)

Hecht, Ben. *Perfidy* (Julian Messner Inc., 1961)

Khalidi, Walid. *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992)

Lilienthal, Alfred. *The Zionist Connection: What Price Peace* (Dodd, Mead & Co, 1978)

Mallison, W.T. and Mallison, S.V. *The Palestine Problem in International Law and World Order* (Longman, 1986)

Masalha, Nur. *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of Transfer in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948* (Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992)

Masalha, Nur. *A Land Without a People* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997)

Morris, Benny. *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Said, Edward. *The Question of Palestine* (Vintage, 1992)

Pappe, Ilan. *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-1951* (I.B.Tauris, 1992)

Quigley, John. *Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice* (Duke University Press, 1990)

Segev, Tom. *One Palestine Complete: Jews & Arabs under the British Mandate* (Metropolitan Books, 1999)

Shlaim, Avi. *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab Wall* (Penguin, 2001)

Whitelam, Keith W. *The Invention of Ancient Israel* (Routledge, 1996)

Will, Donald & Ryan, Sheila. *Israel and South Africa: Legal Systems of Settler Dominance* (Africa World Press, 1990)

Maps

Reliable information is essential for making an objective evaluation of the oft-misrepresented Palestinian struggle against Israeli colonization. Maps are especially crucial to understanding:

UNWRA site: www.un.org/unrwa/pr/pdf/map.pdf

UN site: ..... www.un.org/Depts/dpa/qpal/pal_maps.htm

Le Monde Diplomatique: invaluable sections on the ME conflict & the Gulf ..... http://MondeDiplo.com/maps

21 maps ..... www.allthatremains.com/maps

Very useful ..... www.fmep.org/images/maps

19 maps ..... www.pmwatch.org/pmw/maps

The most detailed & comprehensive maps of Zionist colonies as of May, 2002 from Israeli architect Eyal Wizman & B'tselem, human rights organization. PDF format, local examples are at www.btselem.org

Documentation

Ariga: *Treaties and Historic Documents* ..... www.ariga.com/treaties

(The) Avalon Project: At Yale University. *The Middle East 1916-2001: A Documentary Record* ..... www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/mideast.htm

CAN: Dept of Foreign Affairs & International Trade: Canada's role in the Mid East (ME) peace process ..... www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/peaceprocess/

Canada-Israel Committee: web.idirect.com/~cIc/canadaIsrael

Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine: *Selected Documents Regarding Palestine* ..... www.palestinecenter.org/cpap/document.html

Digital Documentation Center: American University of Beirut ..... http://almashriq.hiof.no/ddc/

Documents on the Israel-Palestine Conflict: By Prof Vincent Ferraro, Dartmouth College ..... www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/me.htm

Documents Relating to the Middle East ..... www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/meres.htm

Documents on the Iraqi Conflict ..... www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/iraq.htm

Le Monde Diplomatique: basic texts http://MondeDiplo.com/focus/mideast/1

Middle East Research & Information Project: US assoc ..... www.mideastinsight.org

MidEast Web: ME *Peace Process Historical Background* ..... www.mideastweb.org/history.htm

Bibilography ..... www.mideastweb.org/biblio.htm

Palestinian Refugee Research Net: Collection of Peace Process links www.arts.mcgill.ca/MEPP/meppnet.html

Permanent Observer Mission of Palestine to the UN: comprehensive archive of UN resolutions & documents relating to Palestine ..... http://palestine-un.org

UN: Information System on the Question of Palestine (UNISPAL): Over 3000 UN documents in the main database (to 1998) .. http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF

also: www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues

Middle East maps: From the CIA (extensive set) www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east.html

Canada

Al-Awda Society: (Arabic for 'The return') a US/Canadian society promoting 'The Right of Return' www.al-awda.org

Canada Palestine Association: An educational & advocacy group in support of the Palestine cause. No website. P.O. Box 1085, Halifax, NS B3J 2X1

Canadian Arab Federation: mandate is to 'identify, articulate, defend & otherwise pursue the interests of the Arab-Canadian community' ... www.caf.ca

Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC): a national Canadian organization committed to serve Muslim Canadians. Publishes a noteworthy *Anti-Islam in the Media* annual report. E-mail: cic@cicnow.com www.cicnow.com

(The) Canadian-Palestinian Educational Exchange: Ottawa-based volunter aid ..... www.cepal.ca

Canadians, Arabs & Jews for a Just Peace: Halifax-based advocacy & educational group ..... www.forjustpeace.ca

Canadian Society of Muslims: ..... http://muslim-canada.org

CIC Friday Bulletin: five years old with over 300,000 subscribers. News coverage, reports, Islamic commentaries ..... www.canadianislamiccongress.com/subscribe.shtml

Centre for Global Research: 'Palestine under siege: compilation of CGR articles & eye-witness reports on the Israeli invasion' http://globalresearch.ca/articles/CRG204B.html

FAFO Refugee Working Group: McGill University. Created as part of multilateral talks on refugees launched after 1991 Madrid Peace Conference . www.fafo.no/IsesWeb/Engelsk/Mainpage.htm

Palestinian Refugee Research Net at McGill: Sponsored by a consortium of Cdn universities & the government, it studies & disseminates information about the refugee issue ..... www.arts.mcgill.ca/MEPP/PRRN/prfront.html

Solidarity for Pal. Human Rights ... www.sphr.org

TML Daily: Marxist-Leninist analysis of actions & developments in Canada & abroad ..... www.cpcml.ca

Zayid, Dr. Ismail: lectures, articles, correspondence/critique of media & Canadian politicians http://izayid.tripod.com

Peace & Solidarity

Adalah: The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel ..... www.adalah.org

Americans for Peace Now: US Jewish organization affiliated with Peace Now In Israel ..... www.peacenow.org

Boycott Israeli Goods Campaign: Information in several languages & links to other boycott initiatives ..... www.BoycottIsraeliGoods.org

Churches for Middle East Peace: Interdenominational group, advocates a two state solution, a shared Jerusalem, respect for the rights of Palestinian Christians & protection of Christian holy places ..... www.cmep.org

Coalition against Israeli War Crimes ..... www.againstisraeliwarcrimes.org

Courage to Refuse: Website of IDF Reserve Officers refusing to serve in the occupied territories for reasons of conscience. Includes petition, names, ranks ..... http://seruv.org.il

End the Occupation . www.endtheoccupation.org

Indict Ariel Sharon: Campaign for Justice for Victims of Sabra & Shatila .. www.indictsharon.net

International Solidarity Movement ..... www.directactionpalestine.com

Islamic Association of Palestine ..... www.iap.org

Jewish Friends of Palestine: links to Jewish organizations and individuals that support a free Palestine ..... www.jewishfriendspalestine.org

Not In My Name: US Jews organizing coalition against Isr. occupation . www.notinmyname.org

Palestine Solidarity (international) ..... www.palsolidarity.org

Palestine Solidarity Campaign: British NGO ..... www.aquascript.com/psc/features.asp

Peace Now (*Shalom Achshav*): Israeli peace group, promotes a just Israeli-Palestinian peace through political activism. "Settlement Watch" monitors settlement activity ..... www.peacenow.org.il

Stop US Aid to Israel ..... www.stop-us-aid-to-israel.org

Research & Education

Alternative Information Center: Palestinian-Israeli organization for peace & social justice; progressively-oriented ..... www.alternativenews.org

American Committee on Jerusalem: Founded by Arab-Americans to educate the public about the Arab heritage of Jerusalem. Daily press excerpts

AL-BADIA

..... www.acj.org

Applied Research Institute – Jerusalem: Palestinian research on environmental, scientific, land, water, resources & Israeli settlement issues in the Occupied Territories ..... www.arij.org

Bir Zeit University: Comprehensive list of websites in, about Palestine ..... www.birzeit.edu

Center for Economic & Social Rights: New York NGO. Researches deteriorating situation in Occupied Territories ..... www.cesr.org

Centre for Palestinian Research & Studies: Analyses of 'peace process' . www.cprs-palestine.org/new.html

Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine: Sponsored by Jerusalem Fund for Education & Community Development, Washington. Policy briefs ..... www.palestinecenter.org

Health, Development, Information & Policy Institute: Information & advocacy on Palestinian health, development, with links to other Palestinian NGOs ..... www.hdip.org

Israel/Palestine Center for Research & Information: Israeli-Palestinian research group in Bethlehem conducts "peace process" & development issues research, publishes frequently to an e-mail network ..... www.ipcri.org

Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions: Jerusalem. Prevents, publicizes & provides relief for victims of IDF house demolitions in Occupied Territories ..... www.icahd.org

(The) Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies: Israeli group publishes in English, Hebrew on the Jerusalem question ..... www.jiis.org.il

MIFTAH: Palestinian NGO. East Jerusalem. Promotes human rights, democracy, civil society & peace ..... www.miftah.org

(The) Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs: Jerusalem. Publishes annual diary ..... www.passia.org

(The) Palestinian Center for Rapprochement Between People: Palestinian NGO. Beit Sahour (near Bethlehem). Tradition of non-violent resistance to occupation ..... www.rapprochement.org

US Report on the Middle East (USROM): economic, defence & political analysis based on official US sources, World Bank, IMF, etc. www.usrom.com

Washington Institute for Near East Policy: Pro-Israel. ..... www.washingtoninstitute.org

Human Rights

Addameer: Palestinian human rights organization, Ramallah. Concentrates on Palestinian prisoners' rights in Occupied Territories www.addameer.org

Amnesty International: Numerous reports (www.amnesty.org) on the situation in the occupied territories & those controlled by the Palestinian Authority. Pro-Israel. Israel/Occupied Territories documents cache: ..... http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/COUNTRIES/ISRAEL/OCCUPIED+TERRITORIES

Association for Civil Rights in Israel: Advocates, litigates civil rights for all Israelis, Jewish & Arab. ..... www.nif.org/acri/acintro.html

Bat Shalom: Israeli women's organization advocates peace & justice between Israelis & Palestinians & women's rights www.batshalom.org/1.htm

B'Tselem: Israeli monitor of rights situation facing Palestinians in Occupied Territories & Arab citizens in Israel. Deeply-researched reports incorporate eye-witness accounts, IDF statements etc. that are verified independently ..... www.btselem.org

Hanthala: International law, human rights in Palestine ..... http://hanthala.virtualave.net

Human Rights Watch: New York NGO ..... www.hrw.org/mideast

LAW: The Palestinian Center for the Protection of Human Rights & the Environment: Established by lawyers in the Occupied Territories & laden with links. ..... www.lawsociety.org

Palestinian Center for Human Rights: Gaza-based www.pchrGaza.org

Palestine Human Rights Monitoring Group: NGO that monitors violations of Pal. human rights by both Israel & the PNA. ..... www.phrmg.org

Palestinian Justice Campaign: Pal.-Americans' lawsuit against the US &Israel over Jewish settlements on stolen Palestinian land, Christ Lutheran Church ..... http://palestinianjustice com.siteprotect.net/about.htm

The Public Committee Against Torture in Israel: Jerusalem. Lobbies against torture & litigates on behalf of victims ..... www.stoptorture.org.il

Rabbis for Human Rights: Founded 1988. Publicizes causes, helps victims, engages in civil disobedience & promotes Jewish ecumenical dialogue in Occupied Territorieswww.rhr.israel.net/overview.shtml

Refugees & Residency

Across Borders: a joint project of BirZeit University & *Shaml* (see below) ..... www.acrossborders.org

Al-Awda (Right to Return Coalition) www.al-awda.org (London) ..... www.al-awda.org.uk

American Near East Refugee Aid: NGO carries out economic development in Occupied Territories .. www.anera.org

BADIL: Resource Center for Palestinian Residency & Refugees: Pal. advocacy group provides a resource pool of alternative, critical & progressive information, promotes refugee rights & supports Right of Return ..... www.badil.org

For information about the Palestinian NGO position paper submitted to the WCAR at Durban, as well as the NGO Declaration & Joint Program of Action/WCAR, visit www.badil.org/Resources/WCAR/WCAR2001.htm

Centre on Housing Rights & Evictions: ..... www.cohre.org

(The) Council for Palestinian Restitution & Reparation (CPRR): ..... http://rightofreturn.org

Council for Palestinian Restitution & Reparation: Washington NGO to assist Palestinians & their heirs to fully achieve their individual & inalienable human rights ..... www.palestinecenter.org/framepalestine.html

Dheisheh Refugee Camp: Palestinian refugees speak ..... www.dheisheh.acrossborders.org

FAFO Refugee Working Group: see Canada section (above)

Interchurch Committee on Refugees: ... www.web.net/~iccr

Le Monde refugee information (French) www.monde-diplomatique.fr/index/sujet/conflitisraeloarabe

Palestinian Diaspora & Refugee Center (*Shaml*): Independent Palestinian NGO. Also see Across Borders (above) ..... www.shaml.org

Palestinian Refugee Research Net: see Canada section (above)

Palestine Remembered: Two sites comprehensively preserve documentation of collective experiences & heritage of Palestinian refugees (incl. history of cleansing 1948) ..... www.palestineremembered.com *or* www.allthatremains.com

Palestine Return Center: Incorporates detailed researches of Dr. Salman Abu-Sitta on feasibility of return ..... www.prc.org.uk

UN Dept for Palestinian Rights, NGO network (incl. action alerts, newsletter) ... www.un.org/Depts/dpa/ngo

US Committee on Refugees ..... www.refugees.org

Government

France: Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Search engine for its document base .. www.france.diplomatie.fr

International Committee of the Red Cross: ..... www.icrc.org

International Observatory for Palestinian Affairs: Geneva-based NGO, Eng, Fr & Arabic, (access restricted) ..... www.oiap.org

Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information: Jerusalem. www.ipcri.org/index1.html

IS: Israel (IS) Foreign Affair Ministry: ..... www.mfa.gov.il

IS: Kalpi: publicly accessible database of Knesset members' voting records ..... www.kalpi.com

IS: YESHA Council: Israeli Settler Council in"Judaea & Samaria" ..... www.moetzetyesha.co.il

IS: Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics: ..... www.cbs.gov.il/engindex.htm

Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics: ..... www.pcbs.org

Palestinian Liberation Organization (Negotiations Support Unit): Speeches, analyses, papers & commentaries with views of the Palestinian Authority on issues concerning peace betweeen Isr. & Palestinians ..... www.nad-plo.org

PNA: Palestinian National Authority – gives the composition of the PNA, texts & statements ..... www.pna.net

Palestinian National Liberation Movement: Fateh, an independent national revolutionary movement .. www.fateh.net

PLO: A website of the Palestinian Legislative Organization, highlights Chmn Yasser Arafat ..... www.p-p-o.com

UN: General Assembly & Security Council resolutions on the conflict & reports by the Commission on Human Rights on violations in the occupied & autonomous territories ..... www.un.org

UN: Question of Palestine: ..... www.un.org/Depts/dpa/qpal

UN: Development Programme: contains numerous on-line reports & statistics on the ME ..... www.undp.org

USCO: Official site of the UN Special Coordinator in the Occupied Territories, with information on economic conditions & donor programs in WB & Gaza ... www.arts.mcgill.ca/MEPP/unsco/unfront.html

UN: Relief & Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East ..... www.un.org/unrwa

Myths & Facts: ..... www.un.org/unrwa/myths

UN: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: Details violations of 4th Geneva Convention ..... www.unhchr.ch

US: State Department: ..... www.state.gov

US: White House: Official foreign policy statements www.whitehouse.gov

US: (CIA)Reports on Arab countries ... www.cia.gov

UK: Foreign Office: Archives, interviews, etc. ..... www.fco.gov.uk

World Bank: Figures & reports on Palestinian & Israeli economies, economic cooperation ... www.worldbank.org

World Bank-supported site, includes *Palestine Economic Pulse, Peace Ecocomics* (site currently offline): ..... www.palecon.org

Journals & Magazines

Al-Ahram: a Cairo weekly .... www.ahram.org.eg/weekly

Ali Abunimah's Bitter Pill: letters, interviews & media transcripts ..... www.abunimah.org

Alaqsa intifada: since 2000 www.alaqsaintifada.org

Electronic Intifada: "a resource for countering myth, distortion & spin from the Israeli war machine & media" .... http://electronicintifada.net

Ha'aretz: Isr. daily, Heb/Eng www3.haaretz.co.il/eng/scripts/open.asp

FAIR: Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting; media watchdog, ongoing critiques ..... www.fair.org

Independent: London daily ..... http://news.independent.co.uk/world/middle_east/

Israel IndyMedia Center: first-hand accounts, commentary from Israeli conscientious objectors. English, Hebrew, Arabic ..... www.indymedia.org.il

Israel's Media Watch: media criticism, within Israel www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/2527/listnouv.htm

(The) Jerusalem Media & Communication Center: Independent group, based in East Jerusalem, publishes & circulates by e-mail, frequent high quality analysis of the conflict, usually by Palestinians, but also by Israeli contributors .. www.jmcc.org

Jerusalem Quarterly: focuses on Jerusalem from a Palestinian perspective from the Institute for Jerusalem Studies (affiliate of the Institute for Palestinian Studies) (www.jqf-jerusalem.org) & the *Jerusalem Quarterly File* www.jqf-jerusalem.org

Journal of Palestine Studies (JPS): excellent scholarly quarterly published by the Institute for Palestinian Studies in Washington with analysis by Pal., Isr. & others about Palestinian history & the Israeli-Palestinian conflict ..... www.ipsjps.org/jps

The Link: published by Americans for Middle East Understanding ..... www.ameu.org

Media Monitors Network www.mediamonitors.net

Media Workers Against War: British site launched after 9-11 ..... www.mwaw.org/links.php

Middle East Facts: hundreds of background articles by topic ..... www.mideastfacts.com

Middle East Information Center: some good articles on current issues & history ..... http://middleeastinfo.org

Middle East Insight: Washington quarterly ..... www.mideastinsight.org

Middle East Journal: scholarly quarterly from Middle East Institute, Washington ..... www.mideasti.org/html/journal.html

Middle East Newswire: www.middleeastwire.com:8080/home.html

Mideast Mirror: London-based news service, digests Arab, Israeli press ..... www.mideastmirror.com

Palestine Chronicle: current, frequent updates ..... www.palestinechronicle.com

Palestine Media Center .. www.palestine-pmc.com/first.html

Palestinian Media Watch Campaign: US media exposes, commentaries ..... www.pmwatch.org

The Palestine Monitor: extensive site by a Palestinian NGO, Ramallah .. www.palestinemonitor.org

The Palestine-Israel Journal: Jerusalem quarterly ... www.pij.org

Washington Report on Middle East Affairs (WRMEA)*:* Comprehensive. Published 10 times/year. Large selection of books. Free catalogue available ..... www.wrmea.com

Timelines

An Atlas of Palestine: Five thousand years of Palestinian History: ..... www.arij.org/atlas/table.htm

Chronology of the Middle East (1908-2002): Very detailed, links to key documents ..... http://middleeast. reference.users.btopenworld.com/Chronology.html

Center for Co-operative Research: *The Complete 9/11 Timeline* by Paul Thompson ..... http://cooperativeresearch.org/completetimeline

Iraq – British film-maker Grant Wakefield: *Iraq chronology from 1916 to the Gulf War* (http://www.mwaw.org/article.php?sid=884); *A comprehensive chronology of the sanctions held on Iraq from 1990-2000* ..... http://www.mwaw.org/article.php?sid=881

JPS (above)*:* has monthly chronologies

Middle East; the fault line. 1947 to 2002, focuses on diplomacy ..... http://MondeDiplo.com/focus/mideast/

An Electronic Intifada chronology documents Isr. repression during a "unilateral cease-fire" (22/5/01) http://electronicIntifada.net/chronology

UN Chronology: ..... http://palestine-un.org/chron

WRMEA (above) has monthly chronologies from 1992

Other

Albert Lilienthal: online excerpts from his book The Zionist Connection II .. www.alfredlilienthal.com

Arab Net: ..... www.arab.net

Deir Yassin Remembered: dedicated to memory of those massacred in 1948 ... www.deiryassin.org

Golan Heights: ..... www.golan-syria.org

Kaled Zighari: one of the outstanding Palestinian photographers ..... www.zighari.com

Massacres: Gruesome photo dossiers on Israeli terrorism ..... ww.alkhilafah.info/massacres

Orthodox Jews opposed to Zionism (www.jewsnotzionists.org) & Jews United Against Zionism .... www.NetureiKarta.org

Palestine Information Center: ..... alquds.org

Peace for Palestine: Jordan-based information, references ..... www.pfp.fl.net.au

Personal Diary of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Nigel Parry, beautifully evocative ..... www.nigelparry.com

Prof. Tanya Reinhart: articles ..... www.tau.ac.il/~reinhart/political/politicalE.html

Research Guide on the Isr-Palestinian Conflict: 3,000 articles .... www.robincmiller.com/melinkfr.htm

The role of water in conflict and co-operation: ... http://waternet.rug.ac.be/

Truth, Justice & Human Rights in the Middle East: a wealth of information www.mideastfacts.com

University of California Press: E-Editions, complete books placed online and free to access ..... www.ucpress.edu/scan/books.html#2

Lebanon

There is a general portal to other Lebanon sites at http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/

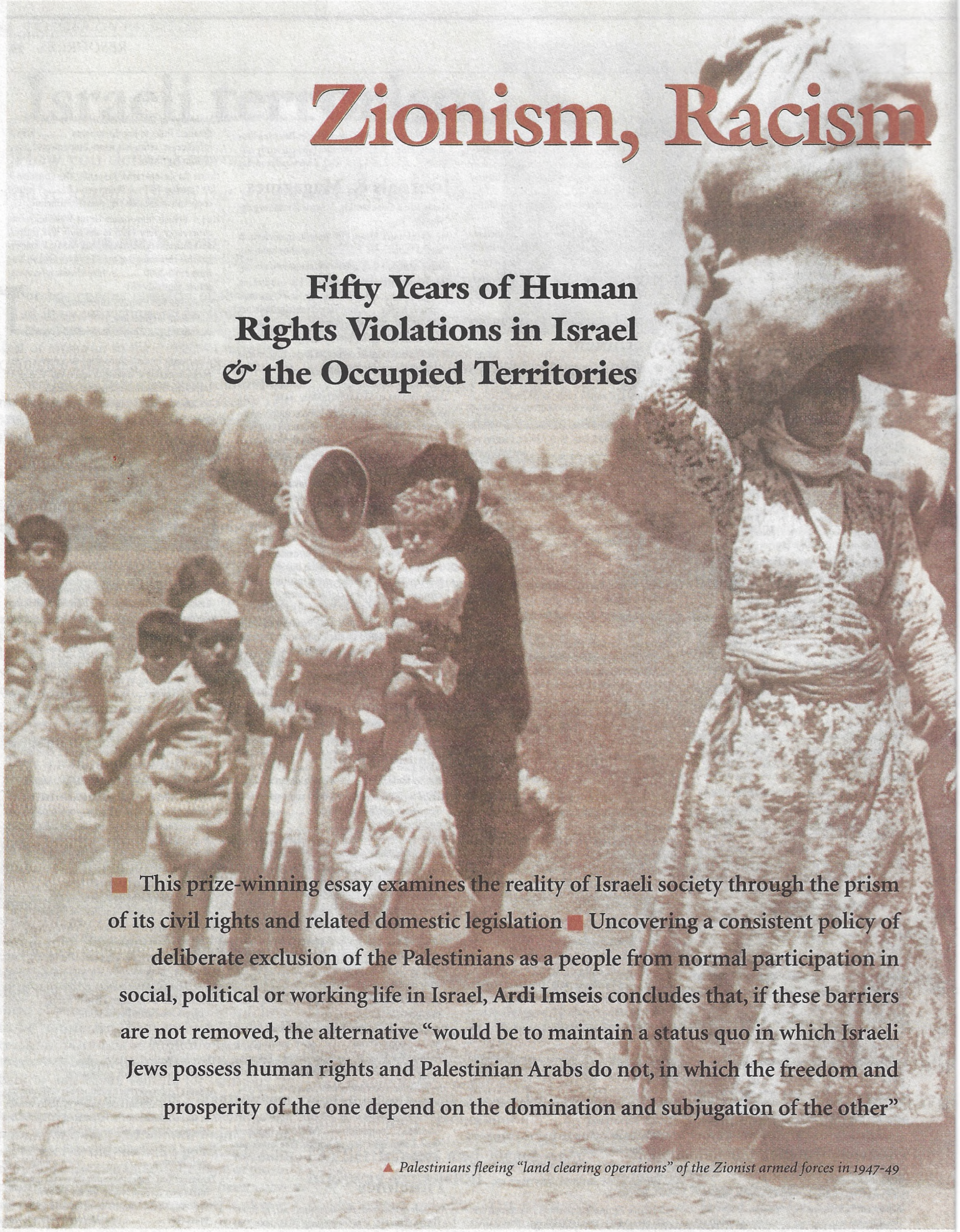
Al Badia Embroideries: a commercial outlet for traditional Palestinian embroidery made by women in the refugee camps http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/300/360/362/najdeh/albadia/

National Association for Lebanese Detainees in Israeli Prisons: ..... www.naldip.org.lb

ZenJustice.com: indepth examination with timelines, interviews by Arab youth for the 15-part Zen TV series of the 1982 invasion and the Sabra & Shatilla massacre ..... www.futuretvnetwork.com

Zionism, Racism

Fifty Years of Human Rights Violations in Israel & the Occupied Territories



■ This prize-winning essay examines the reality of Israeli society through the prism of its civil rights and related domestic legislation ■ Uncovering a consistent policy of deliberate exclusion of the Palestinians as a people from normal participation in social, political or working life in Israel, Ardi Imseis concludes that, if these barriers are not removed, the alternative "would be to maintain a status quo in which Israeli Jews possess human rights and Palestinian Arabs do not, in which the freedom and prosperity of the one depend on the domination and subjugation of the other"

▲ *Palestinians fleeing "land clearing operations" of the Zionist armed forces in 1947-49*

& the Palestinian people

[F]aith in my fellow man makes me confident that the wretched and degrading effect of the Arab heritage [in Palestine] will not last forever.

David Ben-Gurion, Israeli Prime Minister 1948-53, 1955-63

There are, however, some instances in certain societies in which groups, victims of racialistic prejudices, have themselves applied doctrines with racist implications.

Fourth UNESCO Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice. Paris, September 1967

I. Introduction

The year 1998 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel, and for many of its supporters, it was an opportune time to rejoice in the creation of a democratic, "pioneering state, full of hope and promise for the survivors of the Nazi Holocaust." In the celebrations, the recognition of the plight of the Palestinian people – whose mass expulsion from Palestine was a necessary requirement for the establishment of the Jewish state – was conspicuously absent. In the words of Edward Said, "[i]f they're not mentioned, they don't exist." The phenomenon of denying the very existence of the Palestinians has been one of the primary tools employed by the state of Israel in its interminable effort to obfuscate the part it has played in the virtual destruction of an entire people. It has also been the central tenet upon which Israel's systematic dehumanization of the Palestinian people has been based. As a result, Israel has been able to maintain and sustain, with virtual impunity, a protracted assault on Palestinian human rights since 1948. The historical record shows that, fifty years into its creation, the state of Israel has largely been successful in its attempt to – as its inaugural Prime Minister so aptly put it – rid Palestine of the "wretched and degrading effects" of its "Arab heritage."

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This essay, originally published in the Dalhousie Journal of Legal Studies, *won the Smith Lyons Prize Essay, 1999. It is republished without footnotes for reasons of space.*

For the international community, 1998 was also an important year for ushering in another fiftieth anniversary – that of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Based upon the principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter, the UDHR was promulgated in December 1948 in an attempt to set a normative standard to which all peoples and governments would be held with respect to the protection of individual and collective human rights. In 1966, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (with its Optional Protocol) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights were combined with the UDHR to form what is commonly referred to as the International Bill of Rights. Together, these documents constitute the core of modern international human rights law, the totality of which has come to include a plethora of other covenants, protocols, conventions, declarations, principles, defines, and regulations of both a regional and international variety.

Of all signatories to the International Bill of Rights, the state of Israel is arguably the most notorious in its contravention of the same. "In point of fact," according to Rabbi Elmer Berger, the renowned American-Jewish human rights advocate, "there is hardly a single right specified in the 30 articles of the Universal Declaration [of Human Rights], which Israel offers . . . to the . . . Palestinians." The irony of Israel's moral turpitude regarding its prolonged violation of Palestinian human rights is highlighted by the fact that the UDHR was originally fashioned in response to "revelations of the atrocities committed in various parts of Europe" during World War II – specifically the Nazi holocaust of the Jews. This irony, therefore, begs the inevitable question: how is it that "a people so long subjected to exclusion and discrimination and the ultimate horror of the [Nazi] holocaust" can now be capable of subjugating another people? Invariably, the answer lies in acquiring a full understanding of the political and cultural ideology upon which the modern state of Israel has become based – that of Zionism.

This paper will partially survey Israel's fifty year assault on Palestinian human rights in an effort to illustrate that, far from the democratic state that it claims to be, it is in fact a racist state whose very existence is predicated on notions of exclusion and discrimination against those unfortunate enough to be legally and effectively classified as "non-Jews" under Israeli law: the indigenous Palestinians. To this end, an in-depth analysis of the history and basic precepts of Zionism will be undertaken with a view to expose the racist nature of the central ideological paradigm that has informed virtually every law and policy the state of Israel has ever applied to the Palestinian people. This will be followed by an analysis of a number of those laws and policies, so that the reader may better comprehend both the heavy human toll the Palestinian people have had to pay in their struggle to maintain their own existence, and, more importantly, the ideological canons that have inspired an historically persecuted people to assume the ill-befitting role of persecutors of another. ▶

II. Background

1. Zionism: What is it?

Modern political Zionism emerged in late-nineteenth century Europe as a reaction to hundreds of years of anti-Jewish persecution, which took the form of "repeated pogroms, mass murder and, [eventually] under Nazism ... mass annihilation." Convinced of the futility of assimilation as a means to alleviate their plight as a marginalized minority among "Gentiles," proponents of Zionism called for the establishment of an exclusively "Jewish state" in the land of their Biblical forefathers: Palestine. This state would serve as a haven from the tyranny of Gentile Europe and would be premised on Jewish self-sufficiency and self-reliance. In the words of one of the Zionist movement's most prominent leaders, Chaim Weizmann, Palestine was to be transformed into a state that would become "as Jewish as England is English."

One of the first major proponents of the Zionist movement was an Austrian-Jewish playwright named Theodor Herzl. Widely regarded as the "Father of Zionism," the 1896 publication of his pamphlet, *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State), gave rise to a wave of Zionist fervour among central and eastern European anti-assimilationist Jews. This fervor soon materialized in the form of the first World Zionist Congress held at Basle, Switzerland in 1897, where the World Zionist Organization (WZO) was founded and charged with leading the effort to create an independent Jewish state in Palestine.

Like every political and socio-cultural paradigm, Zionism was a product of both its age and environment. As such, the movement was founded on, and deeply imbued with, nineteenth-century European notions of colonialism, imperialism, and racism. This was a fact readily admitted by Herzl himself; who often boasted of Zionism as a "colonial idea," and who viewed a future Jewish state in Palestine as forming "a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism." At a time when the secular nationalist European social order was being thrust upon world like never before, Zionist thinkers made every effort to model their emancipatory movement accordingly. In the words of one of Herzl's co-ideologists, Joachim Prinz:

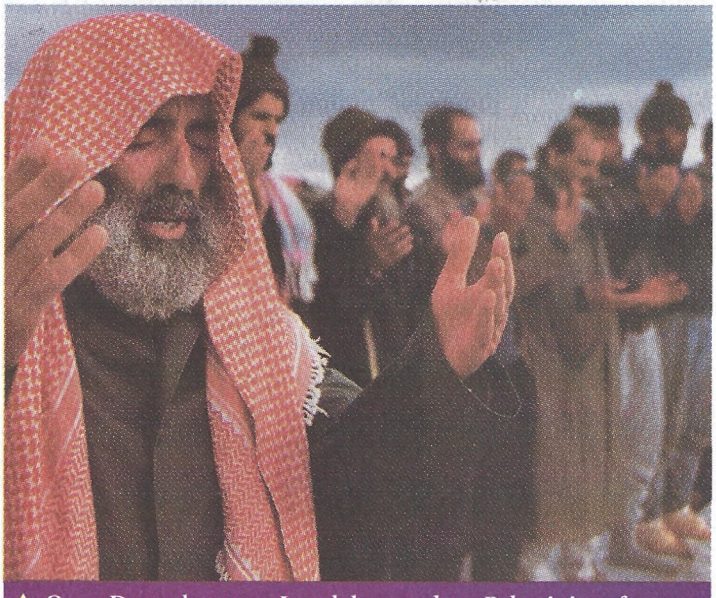
> The collapse of Jewish anonymity is now clear to everyone. Jews are now torn away from the last biding place . . . The theory of assimilation [into European Gentile society] has been destroyed. There is no longer any hiding place for us under the negation which protected it. We [the leaders of the Zionist movement] want to posit instead of assimilation something new: undertaking the yoke of joining the Jewish people and the Jewish race. *Only a state based on the principle of the purity of the nation and the race can possibly endow dignity and honour on (and only on) those Jews who themselves subscribe to this principle.* The state cannot desire any other Jews except those who subscribe to this principle amongst their own people. It cannot desire to have sycophantic Jews. *It must demand from us recognition of our absolute uniqueness and qualities, since only those who give full honour to their own uniqueness, their own blood, could gain the respect and honour which are bestowed on similarly inspired nations subscribing to the same principle.* [emphasis added]

In its early days, the Zionist movement faced various problems in implementing its program: political in-fighting, resistance from pro-assimilationist Jews, and simple lack of "colonizing" resources to name but a few. Zionism's central problem, however, was the fact that at the turn of the nineteenth century, Palestine was a country inhabited by well over half a million indigenous Palestinian Arabs (approximately eighty-eight per cent Muslim, twelve per cent Christian) who had been rooted in the land for well over two millennia. Herein lies the central dilemma posed by Zionism as a colonial movement, and the very crux of the conflict in the Middle East itself: how would it be possible to establish an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine, if there already existed a substantial number of *non-Jews,* that is Palestinian Arabs, in it?

Initially, Zionist leaders attempted to conceal this dilemma from their constituents by fabricating myths that Palestine was a barren and uninhabited country. The movement was thus publicized as a virtuous effort to give "a land without a people" to "a people without a land." In reality, however, Zionist leadership had always been aware of the inevitability of the need to remove, by force if necessary, the indigenous people of Palestine if the goal of establishing an exclusively Jewish state in that country was to be achieved. Thus, in his private diaries (under the heading *When We Occupy The Country),* Herzl himself proclaimed the need to "gently expropriate private [Palestinian] property," and to

> try to *spirit the penniless population* [i.e. indigenous Palestinians] *across the border* by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country . . . Both the process of expropriation and the *removal of the poor* [i.e. indigenous Palestinians] must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly. Let the owners of immovable property believe that they are cheating us, selling us things for more than they are worth. But we are not going to sell them anything back. . . We shall sell *only to Jews* and all real estate will be traded *only among Jews.* [emphasis added]

As the Zionist program in Palestine developed, though, its requirement of the wholesale expulsion of the country's native people became anything but "discreet." The concept of "Transfer" – "a euphemism denoting the organized removal of the indigenous



REX FEATURES, LONDON

▲ On 17 December 1992, Israel deported 417 Palestinians for their political opinions to a no-mans land in Israel's security zone, Marj al-Zahour, an isolated mountain slope camp in south Lebanon, on charges of belonging to the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas. They included Palestine's leading intellectuals, doctors, engineers, professors and religious scholars. None of those deported had been charged, tried or convicted of a criminal offence. Despite worldwide condemnation and conditions of extreme hardship, Israel kept the deportees in exile until 15 December of the following year. Some 80% of all Palestinian academics have been arrested at least once. (See p. 90)

population of Palestine to neighboring countries" – soon emerged as one of the central policies of the Zionist movement. Accordingly, it was Josef Weitz – one of the principal architects of the "Transfer" policy in the 1920s, '30s, and '40s – who brazenly proclaimed it as the "only solution" to the obstacle the indigenous Arabs posed to the Zionist plan to colonize the country:

> Among ourselves it must be clear that there is no place in the country for both peoples together... With the Arabs we shall not achieve our aim of being independent people in this country. *The only solution is Eretz Israel* [i.e. the Land of Israel]... *without the Arabs. . . and there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, transfer all of them, not one village or tribe should remain,* and the transfer must aim at Iraq, Syria and even Transjordan. For this purpose money will be found, much money; and *only with this transfer could the country absorb millions of our brothers.* There is no other alternative. . . One should investigate now the neighboring countries in order to determine their capacity to absorb the Arabs of Eretz Israel. [emphasis added]

Although Weitz made this comment in 1940, transfer theory was deeply embedded in Zionist political thinking from the very inception of the movement. According to Nur Masalha, author of the most definitive text on the subject:

> It should not be imagined that the concept of transfer was held only by maximalists or extremists within the Zionist movement. On the contrary, it was embraced by almost all shades of opinion, from the Revisionist right to the Labour left. Virtually every member of the Zionist pantheon of founding fathers and important leaders supported it and advocated it in one form or another, from Chaim Weizmann and Vladimir Jabotinsky to David Ben-Gurion and Menahem Ussishkin. Supporters of transfer included such moderates as the "Arab appeaser" Moshe Shertok and the socialist Arthur Ruppin, founder of Brit Shalom, a movement advocating equal rights for Arabs and Jews. More importantly, transfer proposals were put forward by the Jewish Agency itself, in effect the government of the Yishuv. [i.e. pre-1948 Jewish community in Palestine]

A consumate analysis of the history and development of Zionism is beyond the scope of this study, but the foregoing analysis of the basic fundamentals of the movement provides a general understanding of its meaning and implications to *both* Jews and Palestinians. Like all other colonial ideologies, Zionism did not, and still does not, operate in a vacuum. While it offered the promise of emancipation from centuries of Jewish persecution by Christian Europe, it could only fulfill this promise by dispossessing and expelling another people – who were innocent of any wrongdoing to the Jews – from their only homeland. As such, a complete understanding of Zionism must lead one to the following three conclusions regarding its stated goal of establishing an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine: first, "conquest of the land" was the single most important prerequisite to the creation of the Jewish state; second, the "ingathering of the exiles" (i.e. settlement of Jewish immigrants) was imperative if that state was to become a tangible reality; and third, the "transfer," or expulsion, of the indigenous Arabs from Palestine was required if exclusive Jewish sovereignty over the country was to be realized.

As history would show, these three tenets, as expressed by successive leaders of the Zionist establishment, would come to shape virtually every aspect of Palestinian-Jewish/Israeli relations both before and after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. More importantly, for our purposes, they would also come to serve as the basis of numerous Israeli laws and policies that would engender five decades of flagrant human rights violations against the Palestinian people. Before examining those laws in depth, however, it is important to establish the socio-political context in which those laws have operated through a survey of Zionism's role in the development of the contemporary conflict over Palestine.

2. Zionism and the Conquest of Palestine

The first Zionist colony in Palestine was established at Rishon Letzion (south-east of Jaffa) in 1882 – then governed by the Ottoman Empire as part of Greater Syria. Zionist immigration between 1882 and 1917 placed the percentage of Jewish inhabitants in Palestine at approximately five per cent by the end of World War I. Aware that the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was imminent, and that British control over Palestine was likely following the end of the war, Zionist leaders lobbied hard to gain assurances for their colonial program from London. As a result – and only a year after London had promised to endorse Arab independence in Palestine – the infamous *Balfour Declaration* was pronounced in November 1917, in which the British government pledged its support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." By 1918, the Ottoman Empire had effectively been dismembered, and in 1922 the League of Nations granted the Mandate over Palestine to the British, as was expected.

By that time, the Arab national movement – itself a product of the nineteenth century – had gained strong support among the Arabs of Palestine. After having participated in the struggle to free the western Arab world from Ottoman domination by helping the British defeat them in World War I, the Palestine Arabs believed that their independence was close at hand. With the commencement of the British Mandate over Palestine in 1922, and with London's insistence that the *Balfour Declaration* formally be incorporated into the terms of the Mandate, however, Palestinian nationalists increasingly became convinced of the existence of a conspiracy to dupe them out of their legitimate rights to self-determination. As Zionist immigration to the country increased, Jewish leaders in Palestine forged ahead with their project of constructing an exclusionist state-within-a-state, which inevitably led to clashes with the indigenous Arab population. Among other things, the openly racist policies of Zionist land acquisition – that saw Jews purchase Arab land and subsequently declare it the "inalienable property of the Jewish people" by refusing to re-sell it to Arabs or to allow Arab labour on it – were cited by various independent commissions as being the cause of Arab protests in 1920, 1921, and 1929.

Tensions reached a fever-pitch in 1936, when the indigenous Arabs brought the country to a standstill with mass protests and strikes in what came to be known as the Arab Revolt. In response to these developments, the British Mandatory government enacted the *Palestine (Defence) Order in Council (1937)*, imposing martial law on the whole country. By 1939, the revolt was crushed and "order" was restored, but the state of emergency continued to remain in force, initially by way of the *Emergency Powers (Defence of the Colonies) Order in Council (1939)* and the *Defence Emergency Regulations (1945)*. Nevertheless, as Zionist immigration increased – most notably during World War II – tensions between Jews and Arabs continually flared. By 1947, the situation had deteriorated to such a point that the British formally announced their intention to quit the Mandate, and handed the matter over to the newly-formed United Nations (UN). After lengthy deliberations, the General Assembly decided to partition Palestine into a Jewish State

and an Arab State by way of Resolution 181 (II) of November 29, 1947 – a proposition that was viewed as patently unjust and wholly unacceptable to the indigenous Arabs of the country.

By that year, Zionist immigration and settlement had brought the population of Palestine to approximately two-thirds Arab (Muslim and Christian) and one-third Jewish. Under the UN partition plan, however, fifty-six per cent of the country was allotted to the Jewish State and only forty-three per cent was allotted to the Arab State. Moreover, the estimated population of the Jewish State was to be approximately 498,000 Jews to 497,000 Arabs. This was a demographic nightmare for the Zionists who, as noted above, were bent on ensuring the "purity" of their Jewish state. Unbeknownst to them at the time, however, they would have ample opportunity to implement the long-held Zionist plan of "transfer" during the first Arab-Israeli war that followed immediately after partition. In the words of Josef Weitz, "it was a time ... during which opportunities were not missed."

Over the course of the war, which lasted from December 1947 to July 1949, Israeli forces managed to conquer a further 22 per cent of the country, bringing their total land occupation at war's end to 78 per cent of Mandatory Palestine. The remainder of the country – the West Bank and Gaza Strip – was portioned out to Jordanian and Egyptian administration, respectively. More important than the Zionists' land acquisition, however, was the efficient manner in which they "cleansed" their new state of its "non-Jewish" character. According to Israeli historian Benny Morris, between 600,000 and 760,000 Palestinians were expelled from the country during the war, and a total of 369 Palestinian villages were destroyed so as to prevent any possibility of their return. What would be described by Chaim Weizmann as "a miraculous clearing of the land," was actually a planned ethnic-cleansing campaign that included both forced expulsion and massacre. Perpetrated by Jewish troops and terrorist gangs, these atrocities ultimately encouraged the mass flight of Arabs in neighbouring villages. By the end of the hostilities, only 140,000 Palestinians remained inside what became the state of Israel, and the rest of their compatriots were permanently exiled in neighbouring states."

In response to this catastrophe, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 194 (III) on December 11, 1948, which called on Israel to repatriate all Palestine refugees wishing to return to their homes, and to compensate them whether or not repatriation was effectuated. Needless to say, after having gone to unimaginable lengths to ensure a Jewish majority in their new state, and after hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Europe "flocked into Israel and took over the [remaining] farms and homes of the departed Arabs," Israeli leaders simply refused to comply. As a result, no Palestinian refugees were allowed to return, and successive generations of their kin, presently totaling some 3.4 million persons, have continued to live in forced exile for the past half century.

As for the Palestinians who remained inside Israel, over the course of the next eighteen years they would become subject to harsh Israeli military rule that, according to Israeli professor Menachem Hofnung, was designed to ensure "the fragmentation and division of the Arab population." On May 19, 1948, the Provisional Council of state (the precursor to the Israeli Knesset, or parliament) "decided to declare a state of emergency under the *Defence (Emergency) Regulalions* (1945)" – an amended version of the same regulations employed by the British to crush the Arab Revolt of 1936. Under *Regulation 125* of this legislation, local military commanders were empowered to "exercise legislative, judicial and executive powers over extensive spheres of life," including the demolition of homes, imposition of curfews, collective punishment, deportation, arbitrary arrest, and search and detention. The imposition of a South African style "pass system" was employed to restrict Arab movement into and out of predominately Jewish areas. Ironically, when these same regulations had been passed by the British during the mandate, they were denounced by Zionist leaders as "licensed terrorism" that was worse than Nazi legislation during World War ll. Although the military government maintained it was formally abolished in 1966, Israel has its state of emergency under the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations* (1945) to this day. As such, its Palestinian citizens continue to be *de facto* subject to the same military laws that prevailed between 1948 and 1966.

With the Israeli conquest of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in July 1967, the Zionist goal of acquiring all of the territory of the former Palestine Mandate had been accomplished. Owing to its speedy six-day "blitzkrieg victory," however, the same scale of ethnic cleansing that took place in the 1948 war could not be achieved. Even though an additional 440,000 Palestinian refugees had been created, approximately 1.4 million Palestinians had remained in the newly acquired territories. From a Zionist standpoint, this created the ultimate catch-22: should Israel formally annex the land and issue citizenship to all of its non-Jewish inhabitants (thereby compromising the "purity" of the Jewish state)? Or should it simply withdraw from the territories as called for by the international community through UN Security Council Resolution 242? Ultimately, the Jewish state chose to do neither.

In a move that consolidated the long-held Zionist policy of conquering "more land with less Arabs," Israel unilaterally and illegally decided to annex Arab East Jerusalem, and to extend its *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945)* to the remainder of the Occupied Territories, thereby imposing complete martial law on the Palestinian inhabitants *without* affording them Israeli citizenship status. Over the course of the next thirty-one years, Israel would *fortify* its hold on the Territories through the legislation of hundreds of "occupiers laws," which were in flagrant violation of international humanitarian law, most notably the *Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection Of Civilian Persons in Time of War.* Among other things, these laws made it "legal" to confiscate Arab lands, construct Jewish settlements on those lands, demolish homes, arrest, search and detain without explanation, exploit natural resources, deport local leaders, and impose curfews and collective punishment of virtually every sort imaginable. In the words of Israeli human rights activist, Dr. Israel Shahak, these laws attempted to legitimize "one of the most cruel and repressive regimes in modern times."

This cruelty was brought to the fore during the popular Palestinian Uprising, or *Intifada,* of 1987-1993 – a nation-wide, largely nonviolent struggle to free the Palestinian people from the Israeli occupation of the Territories. On the directive of the late Prime Minister (then Minister of Defence) Yitzhak Rabin, Israel responded with its so-called "iron fist" policy, which authorized the use of live ammunition, plastic-coated metal bullets, rubber-coated metal bullets, tear gas, clubbing, and percussion grenades against unarmed civilians. As a result, thousands of Palestinians

(many of them children) were either killed, physically maimed and/or psychologically traumatized.

Despite the heavy human toll inflicted on the Palestinians during the *Intifada*, the uprising had three positive effects on the state of affairs in the region. First, it forced the Israelis to confront the *reality* of the existence of the Palestinian people as a "people", since for years the Zionist myth that Palestine was a "land without a people" encouraged successive Israeli governments to refuse to recognize the existence of the Palestinians as a "people." Second, it convinced the Israelis to agree to deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Finally, it compelled the Israelis to rethink their policies regarding their continued occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Eventually, these and other factors would encourage Israel to participate in the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference, which ultimately paved the way for bilateral negotiations with the PLO under the current "Oslo Peace Process."

Initial Palestinian reactions to the Oslo process were varied, and have remained so to this day. The optimists herald it as the dawn of a new era in Arab-Israeli relations, one that will bring an end to Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and pave the way for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. The pessimists denounce it as little more than a "high-sounding" sham, a clever stratagem concocted only to legitimize and consolidate Israel's hold on the Territories. No matter what position one takes on the matter, though, recent data compiled by various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operating in the Territories has shown that the current peace process has done "very little... to permanently improve the human rights situation of the Palestinian people." If anything, this fact only serves to underscore the timely and topical importance of this study.

The foregoing survey of the Zionist conquest of Palestine has modestly endeavoured to outline the historical and socio-political contexts which, despite the vigorous protest of the Palestinian people and others, have allowed the state of Israel to promulgate laws and legislate policies that have continually violated Palestinian human rights for the past half-century. As we enter into an examination of some of those laws, it is imperative to recall, and keep in mind, the three aforementioned conclusions regarding Zionism's stated goal of establishing an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine. First, "conquest of the land" was the single most important prerequisite to the creation of the Jewish state. Second, the "ingathering of the exiles" (i.e. settlement of Jewish immigrants) was imperative if that state was to become a tangible reality. Third, the "transfer," or wholesale expulsion, of the indigenous Arabs from Palestine was required if exclusive Jewish sovereignty over the country was to be realized.

III. Fifty Years of Human Rights Violations in Israel and the Occupied Territories

As noted above, the *International Bill of Rights* serves as the foundation of contemporary international human rights law. The following discussion of Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights will be based primarily on the rights outlined in the *UDHR*, the *ICCPR*, and the *ICESCR*. Where applicable, however, the *Fourth Geneva Convention* and various other instruments will be referred to during the course of the analysis. Needless to say, the field of Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights is a topic too broad for the scope of this research paper. The ensuing analysis is only intended to offer an examination of a portion of those violations in order to illustrate the practical effect that Zionism and Zionist-inspired laws have had on the Palestinian people.

2. The Right to Return

The right to return to one's home or country ("repatriation") is one of the most "universally accepted" norms in international human rights law. It finds its Western roots in the Magna Carta of 1215. This right has been enshrined in numerous human rights documents and applies equally to situations of peace-time, armed conflict, and beligerent occupation. Article 13(2) of the *UDHR* states that "[e]veryone has the right to . . . return to his country." Likewise, Article 12(4) of the *ICCPR* provides that "[n]o one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country." The right to return is also enshrined in Article 12(2) of the *African Charter of Human and Peoples' Right*, Article 22(5) of the *American Convention on Human Rights*, and in numerous articles of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

As noted above, immediately following the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the UN General Assembly passed resolution 194(111), which called on Israel to repatriate all Palestine refugees wishing to return to their homes, and to compensate them whether or not repatriation was effectuated. In response, Israel refused to allow any but a minute number of the refugees back, refused to compensate them for their properties lost, and, to add insult to injury, passed *The Law of Return (1950)*, Article 1 of which stipulated that "[e]very Jew has the right to immigrate to this country."

The effect of the *The Law of Return (1950)* and of Israel's refusal to repatriate or to compensate the Palestine refugees of 1948 is that every Jew in the world, irrespective of his or her historical connection to the country, may immigrate to Israel and automatically receive citizenship upon arrival. Conversely, the roughly 3.4 million Palestinian refugees (descendants included) of the 1948 war, a people indigenous to that country, are denied that same right. Therefore, "the right of 'return' of non-residents (i.e. Jews), supersedes the repatriation of ex-residents (Palestinian Arabs)," and "the attribute of 'being Jewish' [is elevated] to the status of a legally determining principle of exclusion from... the constituency of actual or potential citizens of the state of Israel."

In this manner, Israel has been in flagrant violation of the Palestinian peoples' right to return as enshrined in Article 13(2) of the *ULR* and in UN Resolution 194 for the past fifty years. This course has undoubtedly been pursued for the iniquitous purpose of maintaining Israel's "Jewish character" through the simultaneous fulfillment of the Zionist goals of the "ingathering of the exiles" and the "transfer" of the non-Jewish indigenous population. In the words of Israeli professor Uri Davis, "the continued existence of the state of Israel as a Jewish state must necessarily entail the continued exclusion of the 1948 Palestinian Arab refugees from all and any parts of their homeland. If all 1948 refugees are allowed to return ... there can be no Jewish state."

A very important point about the *The Law of Return (1950)*, is that it serves as the dubious foundation of a multitude of other pieces of Israeli legislation that also discriminate between "Jewish"

▲ *Palestinian refugees fleeing across the Jordan River in 1967*

In the 1967 war Israel forced 440,000 Palestinians into exile – 113,000 of them for the second time. Reports from a variety of independent and reliable sources show that the vast majority of the Palestinian refugees were children, women and elderly men.

and "non-Jewish" (i.e. Palestinian) individuals. The only difference between those other laws and the *The Law of Return (1959)*, however, is that they carefully avoid the explicit use of the terms "Jew" and "non-Jew" as legal determinants. Instead, they cloak their discrimination in the more insidious and euphemistic expressions "anyone who can immigrate in accordance with the Law of Return" (i.e. Jew) and "anyone who cannot immigrate in accordance with the Law of Return" (i.e. non-Jew, more specifically Palestinian Arab). According to Israel Shahak, this is done "in order to avoid embarrassment" and to maintain a sheepish facade of legal equality that in reality simply does not exist.

2. The Right to Nationality

Although the right to nationality is not as time-honoured as the right to return, the international community has regarded it as just as fundamental a human right. Article 15(1) of the UDHR declares that "[e]veryone has the right to a nationality," and Article 15(2) stipulates that "[n]o one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality." The right to nationality is also affirmed in many other international instruments including Article I of the *Convention on The Nationality of Married Women*, and Article 20 of the *American Convention*.

With the rights of Palestinians to Israeli nationality effectively barred by the "Jews-only" effect of the *The Law of Return (1950)*, the only alternative method by which they can regain nationality rights in their homeland is through the "residence provisions" of the *Israeli Nationality Law (1952)*. Article 3 of that law stipulates that automatic citizenship for non-Jews (i.e. Palestinians) is only to be granted to those who can establish proof of continuous residence in Israel from May 14, 1948 (day of declaration of Israeli independence) to July 14, 1952 (day of coming into force of *Nationality Law*), or to those who can establish that they legally returned to the country within that period and were registered as an inhabitant by March 1, 1952.

As already shown, the vast majority of Palestine Arabs were either expelled or fled from what became the state of Israel during the war of 1948. As such, they were automatically disqualified from acquiring Israeli nationality under the *Nationality Law (1952)* by virtue of the fact that they could not establish proof of continuous residence in the country during the aforesaid time period. By the same token, of the 140,000 Palestinians who remained inside the state of Israel, thousands were unable to establish proof of continuous residence, and were therefore also denied nationality. Furthermore, Israel's refusal to allow any Palestinian refugees to return to the country as a matter of official policy, rendered the prospect of any sizable number of refugees acquiring Israeli nationality by establishing proof of "legal" return to, and subsequent registration in the country, next to impossible.

Like the *The Law of Return (1950)*, the *Nationality Law (1952)* finds its *raison d'être* in the twin Zionist goals of the "ingathering of the exiles" and the "transfer" of the indigenous Palestinian population. As acknowledged by Professor Hofnung, the law was designed to achieve "two main parallel purposes": to enable Jews to acquire immediate citizenship in the simplest way possible, and to make it more difficult for former British Mandate non-Jewish residents [i.e. Palestinians] to obtain citizenship. Through the *Nationality Law (1952)*, therefore, Israel has maintained its "Jewish character," but only by being in direct contravention of Articles 15(1) and (2) of the UDHR since 1948.

3. The Right to Ownership and Protection of Property

Article 17(1) of the UDHR states that "[e]veryone has the right to own property," and Article 17(2) provides that "[n]o one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property." The right to ownership and protection of property is also enshrined in Article 21 of the *American Convention*, Article 1 of Protocol No. 1 to the *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and Article 14 of the African Charter.*

The Zionist notion of "conquest of the land" was the single most important prerequisite to the creation of the Jewish state. In the years immediately following the establishment of the state, over "a dozen different Israeli laws [were] enacted specifically in order to expropriate the largest possible area of Arab land" in the country. It is important to note that the bulk of this legislation was produced as part of the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945)*, which, by their very nature, gave the Israeli government enormous powers of control over Palestinian interests in the country. It is equally important to note that prior to partition in 1947, less than six per cent of the land of Palestine was vested in Jewish hands.

The most notorious of the laws that stripped Palestinians of their property rights was the *Emergency Regulations (Absentees' Property) Law (1948)*, which later became the *Absentee Property Law (1950)*. Pursuant to section 1 of this law, any person who, "on or after 29 November 1947 (the date of the Partition Resolution) [was] a citizen or subject of any of the Arab states; in any of these states for any length of time; in any part of Palestine outside of the Israeli-occupied area; or in any place other than his habitual residence, even if such place... [was] within Israeli-occupied territory," automatically became an "absentee." Absentee property would then revert to the state via the Custodian of Absentee Property. As such, every one of the approximately 700,000 Palestinian civilians who were expelled or driven from the country during the war, as well as thousands of internally displaced persons, were declared "absentees," and pursuant to this law, their property (both movable and immovable) was confiscated by state authorities. In this manner, billions of dollars worth of Palestinian property was arbitrarily seized by Israel in order to help it lay the foundation for its exclusively Jewish state. As Professor Hofnung notes:

> Once the property legislation became permanent, it served as a central vehicle for transferring land from private [Arab] ownership ... to public ownership (under Jewish control), and for creating favourable conditions for the mass settlement of Jews in every part of the country ... The heavy flow of Jews into Israel in its first years of establishment, was eased, *inter alia,* by the control, expropriation and allocation of the property of uprooted Arabs. Control of property was gained by means of creating certain physical facts, and by way of legal proceedings aimed at divesting those who possessed land [i.e. Arabs] of their ownership of it. The political aim of the [*Absentee Property Law (1950)*] was to create a legal mechanism which would facilitate the exploitation of the abandoned property for national purposes – in other words, for Jewish settlement.

Israeli land confiscation did not stop with the property of the so-called "absentees". By way of the *Emergency Regulations (Cultivation of Wastelands) (Extension of Validity) Ordinance (1949)*, the Israeli government created a "legal" apparatus that allowed it to expropriate vast tracts of remaining lands held by its own Arab citizens. Pursuant to this law, the Israeli Minister of Agriculture was empowered to arbitrarily seize land that had become "waste land" by virtue of it being "abandoned" or "uncultivated." The Minister would then turn it over to the state "to have it cultivated for the public [i.e. Jewish] good. This mechanism usually operated in the following manner: under Regulation 125 of the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945)*, the local military commander would declare a specific tract of land a "closed military area" for a certain period of time. That tract of land would then become off-limits to all Palestinians, including the owner. This invariably resulted in his or her inability to continue cultivating it. Prior to the termination of the military closure, the Minister of Agriculture would seize the land in question as "waste land" because it had ceased to be cultivated by its owner. The land would then be transferred to the state for the purpose of Jewish settlement.

Presently, over 92 per cent of land in the state of Israel is "held in perpetual trust for the Jewish people" by extra-governmental Zionist organizations, like the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and the Jewish Agency. Article 3 of the Constitution of the Jewish Agency provides that:

> (d) Land is to be acquired as *Jewish property* and subject to the provisions of Article 10 of this Agreement, the title to the lands acquired is to be taken in the name of the Jewish National Fund, to the end that the same shall be held as the *inalienable property of the Jewish people.* [emphasis added]

Practically *all* of this land was expropriated from Palestinian owners by use of the "legal" measures outlined above. By virtue of the lease provisions of the JNF, that land can never be owned or leased by non-Jews. Article 23 of those provisions reads, in part, as follows:

> [T]he lessee undertakes [that] . . . *the holding shall never be held by anyone not a Jew.* If the holder, being a Jew, leaves as his heir a non-Jew, the Fund shall obtain the right of restitution. Prior to the enforcement of the right of restitution, the Fund must give the heir three months notice, within which period the heir shall transfer his rights to a Jew, otherwise the Fund may enforce the right of restitution and the heir may not oppose such enforcement. [emphasis added]

Interestingly enough, only a fraction of Israel's Jewish Population openly acknowledges the inherent racism and irony of these provisions. One such individual is Alexander Kedar, a property law specialist at Haifa University, who has said: "I think that if a Jew somewhere else in the world was prohibited from buying... public land owned by the federal government because they're Jews, I believe there would have been an outcry in Israel." Recently, in *Ka'adan v. Israel Land Authority et al.,* these lease provisions were challenged on the grounds of being discriminatory against Israeli Arabs. In an obvious attempt to evade the issue, the Israeli High Court resolved to defer proceedings and "urged both sides to find a personal housing solution for the appellant."

Confiscation of Palestinian land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip has been a marked feature of Israel's illegal occupation of those territories since 1967. By way of its unilateral extension of the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945)* to the Occupied Territories, Israel has legislated a multitude of military orders, similar in effect to the laws outlined above, that have enabled it to expropriate hundreds of thousands of dunums of Palestinian land. Those orders include: Military Order No. 59, which permits Israeli authorities to unilaterally declare "non-registered" property to be "state land," thereby transferring it to government (i.e. Jewish) ownership; Military Order No. 58, which allows Israeli authorities to confiscate lands that have been "abandoned" by their owners; Military Order No. s/1/96, which is part of a series of orders that allow the Israeli authorities to declare an area "closed," thereby permitting the government to requisition it for exclusive Jewish use; and Military Order No. T/27/96 – part of a series of orders that allow Israeli authorities to expropriate land for "public purposes," such as the construction of settlement bypass roads.

> "Israeli law makes it illegal for Palestinian workers to remain in the country overnight ... the denial of equal pay for equal work is also tacitly condoned by the state... "

Through the laws and processes outlined above, the state of Israel has been extremely successful in its fifty-year campaign to "Judaize" what used to be Arab Palestine. In the process of this carefully orchestrated conquest, Palestinian rights to ownership and protection of their property, as enshrined in Article 17 of the UDHR, have been systematically denied. What is more, is that through these hostile acts Israel has directly violated numerous provisions of the *Fourth Geneva Convention,* specifically Article 53, which prohibits the destruction of the real or personal property of protected persons by the Occupying Power, and Article 49, which prohibits the transfer of civilian nationals of the Occupying Power into the territory it occupies.

4. The Right to Work

Article 23 (1) of the UDHR provides that "[e]veryone has the right to work, [and] to free choice of employment," and Article 23(2) states that "[e]veryone... has the right to equal pay for equal work," Article 6(1) of the ICESCR requires that all States Parties "recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses." The right to work, and to free choice of work, is also recognized in Article 14 of the *American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man,* in Part 1, Article 1 of the European Social Charter, and in Article 15 of the African Charter.

As noted above, over 92 per cent of the land of present-day Israel

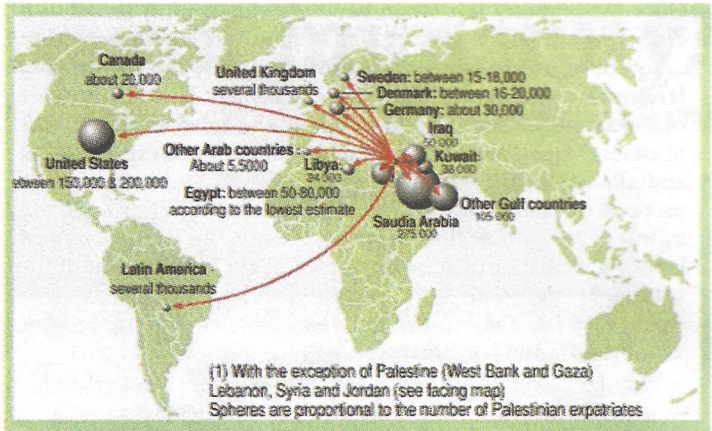
is considered by its government to be the inalienable property of the Jewish people, and is thus prohibited from being owned or leased by any non-Jew, and more specifically, by any Palestinian. Consistent with this "Jews-only" policy, no Palestinian is permitted to work on that land either. This is based on Article 3(e) of the Constitution of the Jewish Agency that provides that the Agency "shall promote *agricultural colonization based on Jewish labour,* and in all works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the Agency, *it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed.*" [emphasis added]

In order to enforce this prohibition, JNF lease provisions impose punitive measures on any Jewish lessee who employs Palestinian labour. Article 23 of those provisions reads, in part, as follows:

> The lessee undertakes to execute all works connected with the cultivation of the holding *only with Jewish labour.* Failure to comply with this duty by the employment of non-Jewish labour shall render the lessee liable to the payment of a compensation for each default.
>
> *The fact of the employment of non-Jewish labour shall constitute adequate proof as to the damages and the amount thereof,* and the right of the Fund to be paid the compensation referred to, and it shall not be necessary to serve on the lessee any notarial or other notice. where the lessee has contravened the provisions of this Article three times, the Fund may apply the right of restitution of the holding without paying any compensation whatever. [emphasis added]

The dispossession of the majority of the Palestinian land-owning class in 1948, and the expropriation of lands belonging to Palestinians who remained in Israel in the years immediately following its establishment, gave rise to the formation of a huge labour pool of landless Palestinians in the country. With ideological and legal prohibitions against their employment in the public sector, these workers rapidly became absorbed into the lower echelons of the construction and service sectors. Between 1948 and 1966, "[m]ilitary authorities used the pass system to control the flow of [Arab] labour into the Jewish economy, and "[i]n periods of unemployment in the Jewish economy the authorities withheld permits to protect Jewish jobs." Until 1960, Palestinian citizens of Israel were prohibited from membership in the *Histadrut* – the country's main trade union and second largest employer. It was not until 1966 that they were permitted to participate in *Histadrut* national elections. Attempts to form an Arab trade union in the 1950s had been met with hostility by the government who arrested the leaders and disbanded the organization. Since the 1960 decision to drop its prohibition on Israeli-Arab membership, Jewish leaders of the *Histadrut* have worked hard to keep Arab influence in the organization to a minimum. Not surprisingly then, "[o]f 600 managers operating *Histadrut* firms, none to date [has been] an Arab."

The Israeli conquest of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, "offered opportunities for exploitation [of Palestinian labour] on a relatively massive scale." It was at that time that the exclusively "Jewish labour" concept in Israel "gave way to the norm that Arabs were especially suited to the performance of menial tasks." Like their compatriots living in Israel, Palestinian residents of the Occupied Territories were increasingly forced to turn to "day labour jobs" as a consequence of Israel's rapid expropriation of their lands. As a result, "by the 1980s one-third of the [West Bank and Gaza Strip] work force commuted to jobs inside" Israel. Today, that number has been reduced to less than seven per cent of the total labour force, primarily because of the comprehensive closures Israel has imposed on the Territories since the *Intifada,* and



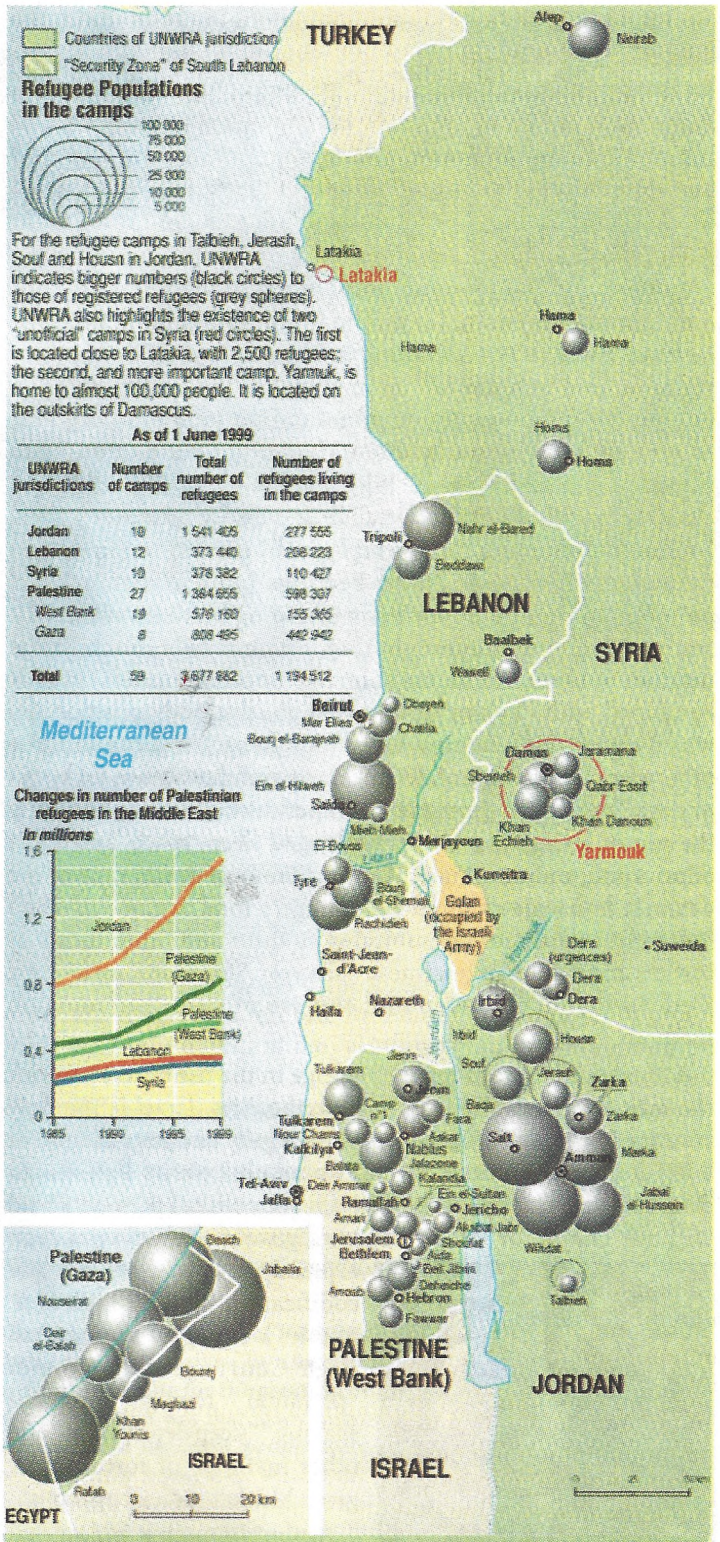
The Palestinian diaspora. Outside Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, the bulk of the Palestinian diaspora lives in the Gulf states and United States. There are over 5 million refugees

the increased reliance Israel has placed on cheap migrant labour from south and south-east Asia. Nevertheless, this has not been accompanied by a corresponding reduction in the level of discrimination Palestinian workers in Israel have had to face. For instance, Israeli law makes it illegal for Palestinian workers to remain in the country overnight. Further, the denial of equal pay for equal work is tacitly condoned by the state, since Palestinian workers tend to get paid twenty to thirty per cent less than Israelis for the same work. In addition, the *Histadrut* deducts a percentage of Palestinian workers' salaries, but refuses to allow them to become members or issue any benefits to them. Palestinian workers "are assessed wage deductions to the same extent as resident workers," but do not receive the subsequent social benefits that normally attach to those deductions – a phenomenon denounced by Israeli professor of sociology, Michael Shwartz, as an "apartheid practice." Although many thought that the current Oslo Peace Process would bring an end to these injustices, this has not been the case. Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza Strip continue to be subject to the same practices listed above, and the economic effect of Israeli closures on the Territories since 1995 has been devastating.

Inspired by Theodor Herzl's call to "spirit the penniless population across the border" by "denying it any employment" in the Jewish state, the government of Israel has continuously discriminated against Palestinian workers, whether citizens of the state or not, since 1948. This policy has carefully been designed to operate as a sort of "economic vice" on the Palestinians, the tightening of which is intended, in part, to encourage the emigration from the country of as many of them as possible, in a further effort to clear the land of its non-Jewish presence. Consequently, the Palestinian right to work, to free choice of work, and to equal pay for equal work as enshrined in Articles 23(1) and (2) of the UDHR and Article 6(1) of the ICCPR, have been systematically violated for the purpose of, *inter alia,* keeping Eretz Israel "Jewish."

5. The Right to Protection against Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

The right to protection against arbitrary arrest and detention is one of the most fundamental principles of the rule of law. Likewise, the right to protection against exile is firmly established in both international human rights and international humanitarian law. Article 9 of the UDHR provides that "[n]o one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile." Similarly, Article



▲ Palestinian refugees in the Middle East Of the 3.8 million Palestinian refugees in the Middle East in June 1999, a third were living in camps. Of these, more than half were living outside Palestine, mostly in Jordan, the main host country. In Lebanon, where 365,000 Palestine refugees are registered, they continue to suffer from extremely poor living and housing conditions, unemployment rates of some 40 per cent and restrictions on mobility and economic activity. (Peter Hansen, Commissioner-general of UNWRA to the special political and decolonization committee, 1 November 1998). The right of return is of deep concern to these Palestinians, the majority of whom live within 100 miles of their places of origin.

PHILIPPE REKACEWICZ FEBRUARY 2000, LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE

▲ Refugee camps were originally established under canvas in 1948 as temporary emergency measures. More than fifty years later they remain as witnesses, with their tin-roofed offspring, to the uprooting and exile of a whole nation. – UNWRA photo

9(1) of the ICCPR states that "[n]o one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention." This right is also enshrined in Article 25 of the *American Declaration,* in Article 5(2) of the *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms,* in Article 6 of the *African Charter,* and in numerous articles of the *Fourth Geneva Convention.*

Since 1948, Israeli authorities have been vested with the power to arrest and detain persons without charge or trial under Regulation Ill of the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945).* This process of arrest is referred to as "administrative detention," and is currently exercised by the Minister of Defence in Israel proper, as well as by local military commanders in the Occupied Territories. According to Amnesty International, the "vast majority of administrative detainees are Palestinian," and to this day *all* Palestinians living under Israeli jurisdictions, whether citizens of Israel or not, are legally subject to such detention at the sole discretion of state military authorities.

In 1995, amendments to the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945)* increased the maximum length of an administrative detention order from six months to one year. Under the original law all detention orders can still "be extended indefinitely ," and "[d]etention orders of six months or less" may be "renewed without a judicial hearing." Although the right to counsel and appeal exist with detention orders exceeding six months, "neither the lawyer nor the detainee is informed of the details of the evidence against him" on grounds of "state security." As such, the detainee's ability to make full answer and defense is virtually impossible.

Over the years, successive Israeli governments have insisted that "[a]dministrative detention is resorted to only in cases where there is corroborating evidence that an individual is engaged in illegal acts which [involve] danger to state security." Under this criteria, hundreds of thousands of Palestinian civilians have been arrested and detained without charge or trial since 1948. Many of these individuals have been "prisoners of conscience" – those held for the "non-violent exercise of [their] right to freedom of expression and association." According to Amnesty International, "[d]uring the Palestinian uprising *(Intifada)* . . . the overall number of Palestinians who were administratively detained was well over 5000. These included students, labourers, human rights workers, journalists, trade unionists, and teachers." Today, five years after the signing of the DOP, thousands of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories continue to be held in administrative detention – some of whom have been incarcerated for "close to five years."

Regarding the issue of forced exile, since 1948 various provisions of the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945)* have been used to deport thousands of Palestinian civilians from both Israel proper and the Occupied Territories. Mass deportations of groups of (non-citizen) Palestinians in Israel were executed by the Israeli Army in the late 1940s and early 1950s. According to Professor Hofnung, there exist "[v]olumes of [Israeli] Supreme Court cases from the early 1950s [that] are full of stories of Arabs who had been illegally deported from Israel and had returned without permission, and whose requests to be registered as residents or citizens were denied."

Israel's deportation of Palestinians was even more pronounced after its conquest of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967. Since then, in their effort to crush all opposition to the military occupation, Israeli authorities have issued hundreds of deportation orders against Palestinians who have been considered "security risks." These deportees have included doctors, lawyers, professors, mayors, trade unionists, student leaders, and many other similar individuals. Article 49 of the *Fourth Geneva Convention* expressly provides that [i]ndividual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory . . . are prohibited, regardless of their motive." Nevertheless, when Israel's deportation policy in the West Bank was challenged in 1979 as being contrary to this provision, the Israeli Supreme Court upheld the practice, ruling incorrectly that Article 49 only prohibited "mass deportations for purposes of forced labour or extermination," not "deportations of individuals or small groups, done for punitive purposes." To date, the Oslo Peace Process has not put an end to Israel's use of deportation as a tool of repression and, like the threat of being placed in administrative detention for indefinite periods of time, every Palestinian currently living in Israel or the Occupied Territories may be subjected to arbitrary deportation orders under the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945)* if the government deems it fit to issue such orders.

Aside from violating the various principles of international human rights and humanitarian law, Israel's use of administrative detention and forced deportation of Palestinians cannot be divorced from the basic principles of Zionism previously outlined. While forced deportation directly achieves the goal of "Arab Transfer," the use of administrative detention works to fragment Palestinian society by relentlessly subjecting its constituents to sub-human treatment. Over time, Palestinian opposition to Israel's domination and occupation effectively erodes, and the latter can be left alone in its quest to confiscate even more Palestinian land in order to convert it to exclusive Jewish "ownership."

6. The Right to Protection against Torture, Cruel and Inhuman Punishment

Both Article 5 of the *UDHR*, and Article 7 of the *ICCPR*, provide that "[n]o one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." Similarly, other express prohibitions on the use of torture and inhuman treatment exist in Article 5(2) of the *American Convention*, in Article 3 of the *European Convention*, in Article 5 of the *African Charter*, and in numerous articles of both the *Fourth Geneva Convention* and the *UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment*.

Although it is doubtful that Palestinian citizens of Israel who were detained as "security threats" in Israeli prisons between 1948 and 1966 would not have been subjected to some form of cruel or inhuman treatment, the lack of independent investigatory reports for that period make it difficult to comment on the degree to which such measures were employed by Israeli military authorities. This is not the case, however, with respect to the torture and mistreatment of Palestinian detainees in the Territories occupied by Israel after 1967.

The two main Israeli interrogation agencies that operate in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are the General Security Service (GSS) – also commonly referred to as Shin Bet or Shabak – and the Israel Defence Force (IDF). According to Human Rights Watch, these agencies "use techniques that amount to torture according to internationally recognized definitions of the term – when trying to pressure security suspects to give and sign statements, or to provide information about third parties" that will be used as evidence, usually against the detainee, in subsequent military court hearings. Specific techniques employed by the GSS and the IDF in their interrogations include: beatings (with clubs, kicks or punches) to all areas of the body including bottoms of feet, the torso, and genitals; violent shaking, which entails clutching the detainee by lapels and shaking him into unconsciousness (usually combined with choking); prolonged abusive body positioning, which entails the "chaining, handcuffing, shackling, confining or otherwise constraining of detainees in painful positions for hours or days;" prolonged exposure to temperature extremes, including the use of refrigerator units; prolonged sleep, space, and toilet deprivation; and uttering of threats, usually of death, rape of the detainee or female relatives. On average, a total of 4,000 to 6,000 Palestinian detainees are subjected to these and other forms of torture and inhuman treatment each year. Since 1967, many have died during, or as a result of, the use of such interrogation methods.

Although numerous regimes engage in the use of torture with the tacit approval of government authorities, Israel is the only country in the world that openly and legally endorses the use of what it calls "moderate physical pressure" on its Palestinian detainees, the vast majority of whom are political prisoners held without charge or trial. In 1987, a government commission expressly proposed the use and codification of such measures, and in a string of 1996 Israeli High Court cases, the use of "physical force," "violent shaking," "sleep deprivation," and other methods of torture were given blanket judicial approval.

PALESTINE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

▲ 9 August 2002 – A Palestinian man from Beit Lahia detained by Israeli soldiers in the Gaza Strip, half-buried, hand-cuffed and blindfolded.

Again, although it is clear that the state of Israel has systematically violated, and continues to violate, international legal prohibitions on the use of torture with respect to its treatment of Palestinian detainees, these violations cannot be viewed as existing outside of the larger ideological framework of Zionism. Like the prolonged subjection to the toils

of administrative detention or economic exclusion/exploitation, the wide-spread use of torture against Palestinian civilians is riot only designed to fragment their national liberation struggle, but is also aimed at perpetuating a general sense of societal despair and political impotence. Moreover, the use of torture on Palestinians is intended to illustrate the low premium the government of Israel places on their lives. Further it is demonstrative of the conviction of some Israeli people that – as articulated here by Zionist writer Moshe Smilansky – if life doesn't suit Palestinians living under Jewish rule, "they can go back to the Arab countries" (i.e. leave Palestine).

7. The Right to Freedom of Expression and Opinion

Article 19 of the *UDHR* provides that "[e]veryone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression." Likewise, Article 19(1) of the *ICPR* states that "[e]veryone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference," and Article 19(2) makes clear that "[e]veryone shall have the right to freedom of expression." The right to freedom of expression and opinion is also affirmed in Article 4 of the *American Declaration,* Article 10(1) of the *European Convention,* and Article 9 of the *African Charter.*

Although the Israeli Supreme Court has declared freedom of expression to be a "supreme right," the Israeli government has flagrantly violated this right in so far as it pertains to Palestinians living under its jurisdictions. Israeli power to exercise censorship over Palestinians derives, once again, from the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945).* The regulations contain a series of provisions that allow the State Censor to prohibit the publication or dissemination of any material that, in its opinion, would compromise the "security" of the Jewish state. Because "state security" is a vague term, virtually anything "considered undesirable by the [Israeli] authorities" may be censored. This is exemplified by Article 94 of Section 8 of the regulations, which governs the issuance of publishing permits for various forms of print media. This regulation prohibits the publication or dissemination of any information without the express permission of the District Commissioner who, "in his discretion and without assigning any reason therefore, may grant or refuse any such permit and may attach conditions thereto and at any time suspend or revoke any such permit or vary or delete any conditions attached to the permit or attach new conditions thereto." Likewise, the Military Censor operating in the Occupied Territories is vested with "absolute discretion... to ban the publication of any information which, 'in his opinion,' is likely to harm 'state defence, public peace or public order.' Since 1967, this power has been "strictly applied" to silence Palestinian opposition to the military occupation.

The most notorious of Israel's censorship laws is the *Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance (1980),* which imposes a three-year prison sentence on anyone who:

> carries out an act that expresses solidarity or sympathy with a terrorist organization by raising a flag, exhibiting a badge or slogan, singing a song or performing any other similar public act which clearly demonstrates such solidarity or sympathy in a public place or in a manner whereby people present in a public place can see or hear such expression of solidarity or sympathy.

Originally promulgated in order to silence Palestinian expressions of nationalism and solidarity with the PLO, since the signing of the DOP it has been used to gag support of the

DAVE CLARK

▲ **Palestinians who remained in Israel after the wars found themselves subject to discrimination and military law. The demonstrators' banner reads, "No to Racism, Yes to Equality."**

so-called Palestinian "opposition groups". In any case, it illustrates the extent to which Israeli law is prepared to go in order to maintain exclusive Jewish sovereignty over even the realm of public expression and opinion.

8. The Right to Education

Article 26 of the *UDHR* provides that "[e]veryone has the right to education." Similarly, Article 13(1) of the *ICESCR* requires that all "States Panics . . . recognize the right of education." The right to eductaion can also be found in Article 12 of the *American Declaration,* and Article 17 of the *African Convention.*

Consistent with the basic fundamentals of Zionism, the *State Education Law (No. 50) (1953)* stipulates that the purpose of elementary education in Israel must be to instill "the values of Jewish culture" and "loyalty to the State and the Jewish people." Because this "purpose" also legally applies to "non-Jewish educational institutions" (i.e. private Palestinian Christian and Muslim schools), Palestinian history and culture is strictly prohibited from being taught to Palestinian children in Israel. In order to ensure compliance with this law, curricula in Palestinian schools are formulated and strictly monitored by the state. This discriminatory policy is compounded by the fact that while the government subsidizes religious Jewish education, it denies funding to Palestinian Christian and Muslim religious education.

University education in Israel is also blatantly discriminatory towards Palestinians. For instance, Israeli universities have a policy of refusing Arab applicants to certain faculties on grounds of "security." Moreover, Palestinian students are prohibited from the benefits of numerous government scholarships, loans, and grants simply because they are not Jewish. For example, certain Jewish Agency scholarships make it clear that only those students who can immigrate to Israel "in accordance with the Law of Return" (i.e. Jews) shall be eligible. Likewise, various other State scholarships stipulate that only those who have served in the Israeli Army (i.e. Jews) may qualify. As previously noted, despite the attempt by the government to conceal the discriminatory effect of these scholarship conditions by using convoluted euphemisms for the requirement of being a "Jew," anyone with a general knowledge of Zionism and the exclusive nature of the state of Israel would have no problem identifying this fact, least of all the Palestinian citizens of the state.

While Palestinian education in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is

more independent than Palestinian education in Israel insofar as its ability to formulate curricula for its students, it has had to face far more persecution from the Israeli military authorities as a result. According to Palestinian lawyer Raja Shehadeh, "[s]tudents in the West Bank are probably subjected more than any other group to constant acts of harassment by the [military] authorities." Since 1967, this harassment has manifested itself in, *inter alia*, mass student arrests, indefinite school closures, imprisonment, and deportation of students, teachers, and professors.) Military Order No. 854, for instance:

> empowers the military authorities to exercise complete control over whomever may be accepted by the university as a student, teacher or principal. It requires all students who do not hold identity cards issued by the Area Commander of the West Bank to obtain a permit [similar to a South African "Pass Card"] from the Area Commander before they can enroll as students. It also gives the [military] authorities powers over licensing teachers, both foreign and local.

The desperate lengths to which Israel will go to continue its long-held policy of suppressing Palestinian education in the Occupied Territories were highlighted during the *Intifada*. In December of 1987, under the pretext of "state security," Israeli military authorities closed all 1,194 West Bank schools (elementary to university level) indefinitely. Palestinian education was forced "underground," and classes were conducted clandestinely in private homes and at other hidden locales. Military orders were passed that made it a punishable offence to partake in such lessons, and the Israeli Army conducted regular raids on private homes in order to enforce these orders. School children began to "carry their books and pencils hidden in plastic bags of bread, not in school bags, so the soldiers would not follow them," and university students were routinely arrested for partaking in "closet" lectures conducted to keep their degree programs on their normal tracks. Although underground education ceased in 1993 with the end of the *Intifada*, Israeli policies of suppressing Palestinian education in the Territories were not altogether abandoned. Five years after the signing of the DOP, mass student arrests and arbitrary school closures continue, and Military Order No. 854 still operates to deny thousands of Palestinians (especially those from the Gaza Strip enrolled in programs in West Bank universities) the right to education. This current reality was underscored by the mass arrest of 280 Palestinian students from Birzeit University – one-tenth of the student body – before dawn on March 28, 1996. Needless to say, none of the students were given reasons for their arrest.

"School children began to 'carry their books and pencils hidden in plastic bags of bread, not in school bags, so the soldiers would not follow them'"

Like each of the human rights violations analyzed above, Israel's systematic violation of the Palestinian right to education as enshrined in Article 26 of the *UDHR* and Article 13(1) of the *ICESCR* cannot be viewed in isolation from the basic tenets of Zionism. According to Jewish Professor Ian Lustick, Israeli discrimination in education has "induced large numbers of young Arabs to leave the country" – a testament to the efficacy of such discrimination in furthering the goal of "Arab Transfer." But what is perhaps more important for us to recognize on this score is the extent of the measures Israel has taken in its effort to prevent the growth of a young and independent Palestinian intellectual base that is conscious of its surroundings and capable of challenging the unjust status quo imposed on it by the Jewish state. Through this effort to stifle the growth of Palestinian youth, one can see Zionism, and by extension the state of Israel, for what it truly is – an outdated, archaic colonial construct of the nineteenth century, whose continued survival can only be maintained through its ability to subjugate every vestige of the indigenous non-Jewish culture that thrived in Palestine before it unilaterally declared it to be the exclusive homeland of the Jewish people.

IV. Zionism, Racism, and the International Community

On November 10, 1975, the United Nations General Assembly passed resolution 3379 (XXX) which proclaimed Zionism to be "a form of racism and racial discrimination." In the resolution's preamble, the General Assembly recalled its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of November 20, 1963, proclaiming the *United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms Of Racial Discrimination*. In particular, the Assembly reiterated its affirmation that "any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous," and expressed its alarm at "the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas in the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative or other measures." Through resolution 3379 (XXX), the international community officially recognized the state of Israel as being one of those governments that uses "legislative, administrative or other measures" to impose doctrines of "racial differentiation and superiority" on its indigenous population. Needless to say, the Jewish state vehemently protested the passing of this resolution.

Israel was not alone in its protest. The United States, its long-time sponsor, brazenly argued that "under the guise of a programme to eliminate racism, the United Nations was officially endorsing anti-Semitism" by passing resolution 3379 (XXX). Each year thereafter, Israel and the United States lobbied hard to have that resolution revoked, and on December 16, 1991 – immediately following the Gulf War, and at the height of US influence in the UN – that is exactly what happened by way of General Assembly resolution 46/86.

In introducing this unprecedented resolution before the General Assembly, the United States' representative, Mr. Eagleburger, outlined his government's position on it. Among other things, he stated that:

> Resolution 3379 (XXX) was one of this body's most ungenerous acts. It branded the national aspirations of one people [the Jews], and one people only, as illegitimate – a people that had been homeless, dispersed and exiled for the better part of two millennia. It labeled as racist the national aspirations of one people more victimized by racism than any other... It told them that the international community in all its solemn majesty had once again subjected the Jewish people to a singular form of persecution.

Particularly disturbing about Mr. Eagleburger's speech, is the fact that at no time did he make mention of the Palestinian people, and more more importantly, of the *racist effect* that "the nationalist aspirations" of the Jews (i.e. Zionism) have had on them. By treating the Palestinians as though they did not exist, by invoking the familiar image of the Jews as the consummate victims of racism (as if to suggest they could not be capable of such deeds themselves), and by casting Zionism in an historical, political, and cultural vacuum in which only Jews were affected, the US

representative adopted the classic formula employed by the Zionist movement to justify its persecution of the indigenous non-Jewish people in the Jewish state. Would any serious discussion of Nazism or Apartheid be possible without addressing the racist effects that those "nationalist" ideologies had on European Jews and Black South Africans, respectively? Surely not. Yet this was the exact form of "blind logic" that was used to revoke the General Assembly's 1975 determination of Zionism as a form of racism.

So long as the conditions that gave rise to the adoption of resolution 3379 (XXX) persist – and this paper has shown that they still do – the General Assembly's revocation of that resolution, aside from marginalizing Zionism's victims even further, can only be characterized as a serious affront to Article 1 of the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,* which defines "racial discrimination" as:

> any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

Indeed, if any philosophy conforms to this internationally accepted definition of racial discrimination it must be Zionism. How else could a colonial ideology founded on the "purity" of the Jewish "race" and bent on establishing and maintaining an exclusively Jewish state in a country already inhabited by non-Jews be classified? Fortunately, the issue of whether the international community views Zionism as a form of racism did not die with the revocation of resolution 3379 (XXX).

In the *Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace,* the World Conference of the International Women's Year (1975) declared that "international cooperation and peace require... the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, *zionism,* apartheid and racial discrimination in all its forms" [emphasis added]. Similarly, in the *Political Declaration and Strategy to Strengthen International Peace and Security and to Intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance Among Non-Aligned Countries,* the Non-Aligned Movement "condemned *zionism* as a threat to world peace and security and called upon all countries to oppose this *racist* and imperialist ideology" (emphasis added). Likewise, in resolution 77 (XII) of the Assembly of Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the OAU declared "that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having *the same racist structure* and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being" [emphasis added]. Finally, in the preamble of the *African Charter,* the OAU undertakes to "eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, *zionism* and ... all forms of discrimination" [emphasis added].

In support of this international condemnation of Zionism, various individuals from within the Jewish community, both inside and outside Israel, have actually come forth to confirm that the ideology is indeed a form of racism. For instance, Dr. Israel Shahak, one of the most outspoken Israeli human rights activists, has proclaimed that:

> The State of Israel is a racist state in the full meaning of this term: In this state people are discriminated against, in the most permanent and legal way and in the most important areas of life, only because of their origin. This racist discrimination began with Zionism and is carried out today mainly in co-operation with the institutions of the Zionist movement.

Echoing these sentiments, Rabbi Elmer Berger, the renowned American-Jewish human rights activist, also described Zionism as "racist" and "discriminatory" in nature. In a statement particularly relevant to the focus of this study, Berger once noted that:

> By definition, Zionism is incapable of legislating human rights for itself. Nor can it grant human rights in some extra-legal system of paternalism. Nor can it have respect for human rights imposed on it was and still remain true to its tradition [of colonialism] and commitment [to an exclusively Jewish state]. There is simply no way this particular form of political nationalism can accommodate the universal criteria of human rights which, as I understand it, are the criteria of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration [of Human Rights]....
>
> Given the commitment of the State of Israel to the fundamental concept of Zionism's "Jewish people" nationality, there is no way the state can implement human rights in any of the commonly accepted definitions of the term. The two concepts are unalterably inconsistent, irreconcilable, and committed to inexorable conflict.

Insofar as comparisons between Israeli Zionism and South African Apartheid are concerned, other members of the Jewish community have been just as vocal as Dr. Shahak and Rabbi Berger. Maxim Ghilan, the well-known Israeli journalist, has made the following pronouncements on the racist nature of Zionism, the state of Israel and its similarity with other racist regimes:

> Israel has gradually become a more and more openly racist country. Anyone not Jewish is at best a second class citizen .... [in] Israel no real freedom has existed in matters of religion or race.... [It is a state] officially defined as "Jewish" just as Rhodesia's or South Africa's are "white"....
>
> Israeli society is basically a settlers' society. It does not primarily concern itself with the "Indians" or "Niggers" of the land. Its first priority is the creation of a united economic establishment for the Jewish Israelis. Only then does it concern itself (almost as an afterthought) with the captive Palestinians.

In a similar vein, Israeli professor Uri Davis has regularly denounced the state of Israel as being a "racist" and "Apartheid state." He offers a rather poignant and simple explanation of the "organic link" – to paraphrase OAU resolution 77 – shared between Israeli Zionism and South African Apartheid:

> The official and hegemonic ideological value system of the Republic of South Africa is apartheid, and the key legal distinction in South African apartheid legislation is between "White" versus "Coloured," "Indian" and "Black," [Likewise], the official hegemonic ideological value system in the state of Israel is Zionism, and the key legal distinction in Zionist legislation in Israel is between "Jew" versus "non-Jew."

Thus, it was not surprising to find that before its recent collapse, the Apartheid regime of South Africa and the state of Israel looked toward one another as a source of mutual support, ideas, trade, and resources – a relationship that was denounced in 1973 by the UN General Assembly as an "unholy alliance."

Notwithstanding the General Assembly's misguided revocation of resolution 3379 (XXX), the foregoing discussion illustrates that there is no shortage of other international documents, instruments, and pronouncements that recognize Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination. As this paper has shown, the same exclusivist, chauvinist and colonialist characteristics of Zionism that gave rise to resolution 3379 (XXX) twenty-three years ago continue to thrive in Palestine/Israel today. When measured against the definition of "racial discrimination" enshrined in the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial*

Discrimination, there can be no other conclusion than to recognize Zionism as a form of the same. This fact is given all the more credence when one considers the sheer volume (the totality of which was only broached in the foregoing analysis) of Israeli-Jewish pronouncements condemning Zionism as a form of racism comparable to that which plagued South Africa during the Apartheid era.

V. Conclusion

The systematic violation of the human rights of the Palestinian people by the state of Israel has continued untrammeled for the past fifty years. This paper has illustrated that the roots of this protracted assault are to be found in Zionism-the colonial ideology that sought, and eventually led to, the establishment of an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine. Originally conceived as an emancipatory movement for persecuted Jews of Europe, Zionism's "Jews-only" philosophy compelled it to dispossess and expel Palestine's non-Jewish indigenous inhabitants in 1948, and then to conquer and illegally occupy what remained of their country, the West Bank, and Gaza Strip, in 1967. These developments were all inevitable consequences of the Zionist movement's three central goals: the "conquest of the land," the "ingathering of the exiles," and the "transfer" of the indigenous (non-Jewish) Palestinians.

"The world can no longer afford to tolerate states founded on outmoded ideologies of 'the purity of the nation and the race'"

Over the fifty-year period that has elapsed since 1948, the state of Israel has given expression to its racist world-view through the promulgation of a multitude of Zionist laws that confer rights and privileges on Jews, while simultaneously denying them to non-Jews. Among other things, this legislation has made it possible for the Jewish state to obfuscate with a false air of legality its discriminatory treatment of the Palestinian people and the violation of their internationally recognized human rights. These include, but are certainly not limited to: the right to return, the right to nationality, the right to ownership and protection of property, the right to work, the right to protection against arbitrary arrest, detention and exile, the right to protection against torture, cruel and inhuman punishment, the right to freedom of expression and opinion, and the right to education.

The fact that Israel is a signatory to every major international human rights instrument in which these rights are enshrined, has not in the least deterred it in its program of denying the Palestinian people their legitimate human rights. On the contrary, the more the Jewish state is criticized for its persecution of the Palestinians, the more vigorous it becomes in its effort to deflect blame for its actions onto someone, or something else. Thus, in criticizing the UN Human Rights Commission's regular and lengthy reports on Israel's treatment of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, former US representative to the United Nations in Geneva, Morris Abram, made the following incredible pronouncement: "Israel is subjected to constant, unfailing, one-sided condemnation [by the UN Commission on Human Rights]... [This] consistent and one-sided condemnation ... prevents any improvement in the human rights of the people of the region and contradicts the very purpose of the Commission and of the United Nations under the Charter."

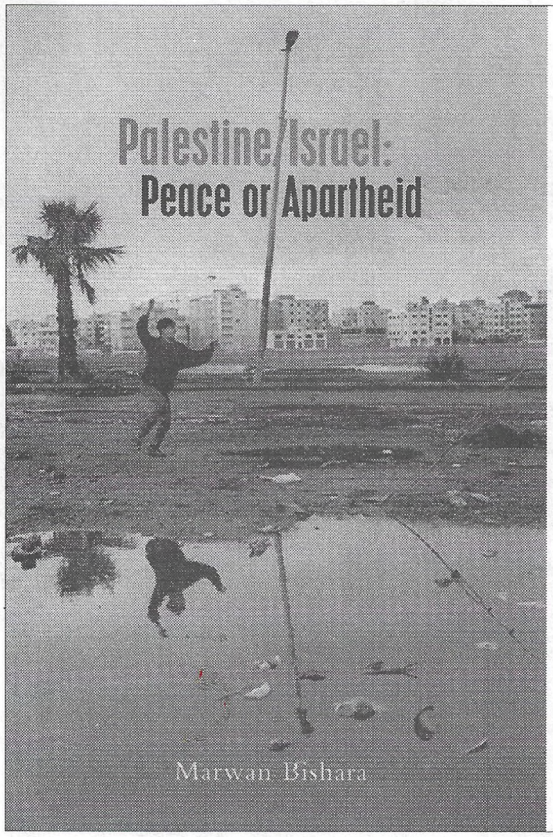
Not surprisingly, this "shoot-the-messenger" excuse cannot seriously be relied upon by the Jewish state, or its supporters, every time it faces international ridicule for its abuses. As such, its leaders have regularly turned to the nebulous catch-all defense known as "state security." Bolstered by a fifty-year official state of emergency, Israel has used "state security" as its principle justification – and cover-up – for its brutal treatment of Palestinians living under its rule. In their sweeping capacity, the *Defence (Emergency) Regulations (1945)* have enabled the Jewish state to promulgate unjust civil and military laws that have been employed to violate Palestinian human rights with virtual impunity since 1948. Although these regulations trace their origin to the British Mandatory Government of Palestine (1922-48), Israeli legislators have been unrelenting in their efforts to "revive" and "amend" them as needed, for the all-important purpose of ensuring their "security" – in other words, the continued exclusive sovereignty of the Jewish people over what use to be Arab Palestine. Needless to say, the Jewish state has never really acknowledged the security needs of the very people it dispossessed, exiled, and disenfranchised.

Of course, the irony in all of this speaks volumes: The historically persecuted Jews, victims of Czarist pogroms and Nazi genocide, have been transformed into the willing persecutors of another people through their own emancipatory ideology as embodied by the laws and policies if the Jewish State of Israel. In his classic *Statement on Race,* Ashley Montagu expounds upon this phenomenon as follows:

> That the victims of racist practices are sometimes guilty of such practices themselves, constitutes yet another sorry commentary on the confusion into which some people are capable of falling ... The saying that every dog must have his underdog constitutes an ancient recognition of a very human failing – the weak attempting to elevate themselves by demeaning and demoting whatever "others" are available for such purposes.

As the world prepares to enter the twenty-first century, and as the Oslo Peace Process grudgingly trudges along, it is imperative for the State of Israel to recognize and resist the "confusion" spoken of by Montagu if real peace with the Palestinians is to be achieved. Despite the fact that the Jewish state continues to subject the Palestinian people to the hardship of its exclusivist and racist policies, the termination of the Apartheid and "white" supremacist regime in South Africa ten years ago is proof positive that such a recognition is within the realm of possibility for the Zionist leaders of the State of Israel. The alternative would be to maintain a status quo in which Israeli Jews possess human rights and Palestinian Arabs do not; in which the freedom and prosperity of the one depend on the domination and subjugation of the other.

Difficult as it may seem, the century-old conflict between Israelis and Palestinians need not persist for another fifty years. Nevertheless, it should be apparent that so long as Israeli state policy remains wedded to Zionism's program of exclusivism and racism, it is highly unlikely that a just peace will ever be achieved. In the words of Edward Said, "[t]here can be no concept of human rights" in Palestine/Israel with a situation that continues to accommodate "the strictures of Israeli state practice against 'non-Jewish' Palestinians in favour of Jewish citizens." Indeed, if anything has been clear since the introduction of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, it is that the world can no longer afford to tolerate states founded on outmoded ideologies of "the purity of the nation and the race"– the human toll has proven itself far too great. ■



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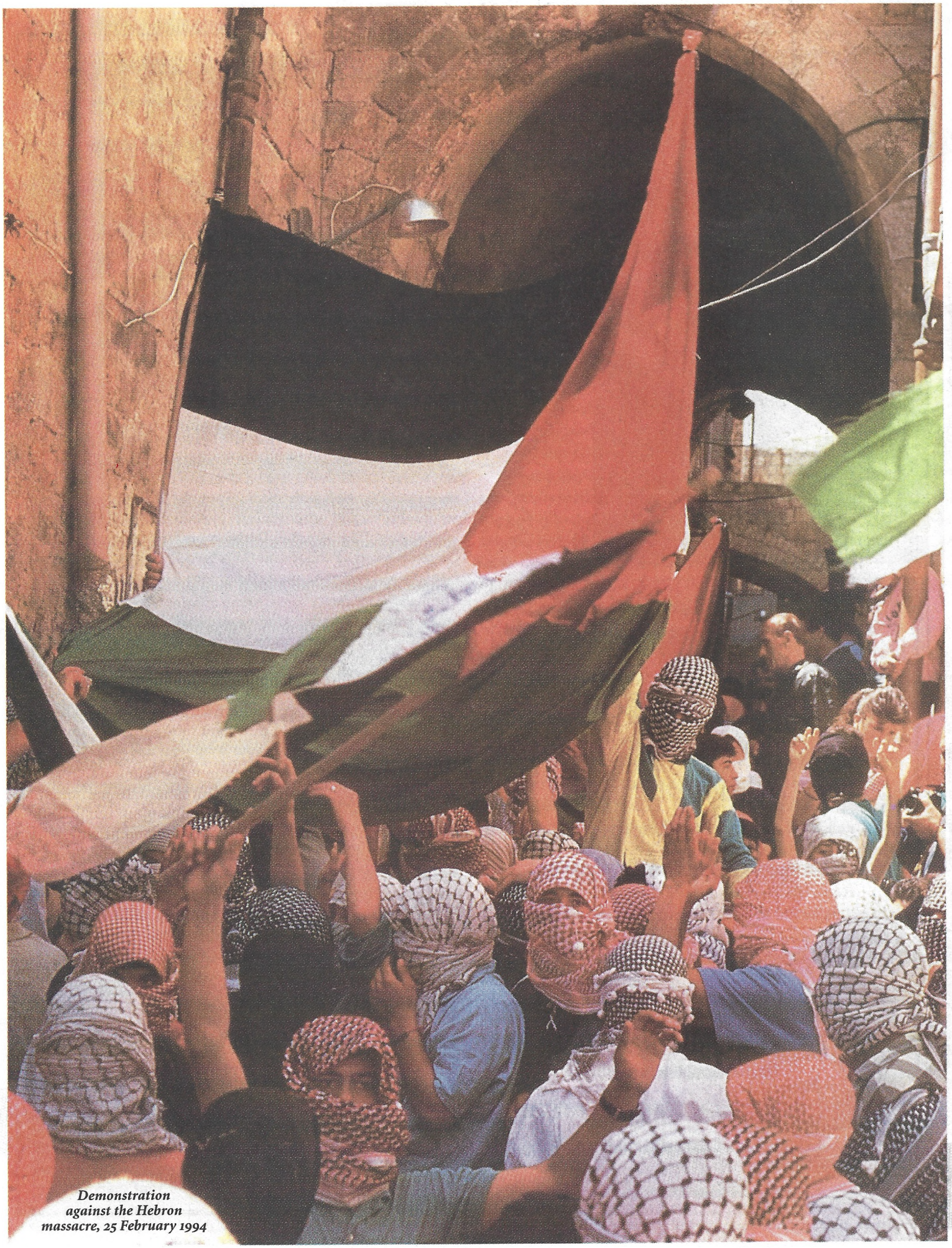
Best wishes from the ***Dossier on Palestine*** editorial team.



Demonstration against the Hebron massacre, 25 February 1994